DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 167 537 SP 013 933

AUTHOR	Brophy, Jere E.; Putnam, Joyce G.
TITLE	Classroom Management in the Elementary Grades. Research Series No. 32.
INSTITUTION	Michigan State Univ., East Lansing. Inst. for Research on Teaching.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Oct 78
CONTRACT	400-76-0073
NOTE	131p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Institute for Research on Teaching, 252 Erickson Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824 ($3.25)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Behavior Change; *Class Management; *Classroom Environment; Discipline; *Elementary Grades; Motivation Techniques; Reinforcement; Socialization; Student Behavior; *Student Characteristics

ABSTRACT

The literature on elementary school classroom management is reviewed. Topics include student characteristics and individual differences, preparing the classroom as a learning environment, organizing instruction and support activities to maximize student engagement in productive tasks, developing workable housekeeping procedures and conduct rules, managing groups during instruction, motivating and shaping desired behavior, resolving conflict and dealing with students' personal adjustment problems, and orchestration of these elements into an internally consistent and effective system. Promising teacher education approaches are discussed in the closing section. (Authors/JD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED167537

Research Series No. 32

CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES

Jere E. Brophy and Joyce G. Putnam

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Jere E. Brophy
Joyce G. Putnam

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Published By

The Institute for Research on Teaching
252 Erickson Hall
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

October 1978

The work reported herein is sponsored by the Institute for Research on Teaching, College of Education, Michigan State University. The Institute for Research on Teaching is funded primarily by the Teaching Division of the National Institute of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position, policy, or endorsement of the National Institute of Education. (Contract No. 400-76-0073)

Preface

This is an extended version of a chapter written for a 1979 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, which focuses on classroom management and related topics. The work has been supported by the Institute for Research on Teaching, which is funded primarily by the National Institute of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Contract No. 400-76-0073). The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position, policy, or endorsement of the National Institute of Education.

The authors wish to thank Henrietta Barnes, Gerry Duffy, Tom Good, Tim Little, and Mary Rohrkemper for their feedback concerning previous versions of the paper, and Jo Cornell, Judy Ettinger, and Linda Raab for their assistance in manuscript preparation.

Abstract

The literature on elementary school classroom management is reviewed. Topics include student characteristics and individual differences, preparing the classroom as a learning environment, organizing instruction and support activities to maximize student engagement in productive tasks, developing workable housekeeping procedures and conduct rules, managing groups during instruction, motivating and shaping desired behavior, resolving conflict and dealing with students' personal adjustment problems, and orchestration of these elements into an internally consistent and effective system. Most of the research and ideas reviewed are mutually supportive and complementary, so they can be organized into a coherent basis for curriculum and instruction in educating teachers regarding classroom management. Promising teacher education approaches are discussed in the closing section.

Contents

I. Introduction..... 1

II. Characteristics of Students, Teachers, and Teaching-Learning Situations..... 5

The Student Role..... 5

Individual Differences..... 7
Student Behavior Problems.....12
Student Expectations of Teachers.....14

Teacher Characteristics.....15

Developmental Aspects of Classroom Management.....18

III. Preparing the Classroom as a Learning Environment.....21

IV. Classroom Climate and Rules.....28

Principles Borrowed From Social Psychology, Developmental Psychology, and Socialization Research.....29

Social Psychology.....29
Socialization Research.....32
Developmental Psychology.....34

Classroom Application.....35

V. Group Management Techniques.....39

VI. Behavior Analysis/Behavior Modification.....45

Reinforcement.....52

Extinction.....57

Punishment.....59

Recent Innovations in Behavioristic Approaches.....65

VII. Counseling and Psychotherapy Techniques.....75

Dreikurs.....76

Life Space Interviews.....78

Glasser and Reality Therapy.....81

Gordon and Teacher Effectiveness Training.....86

Classroom Management in The Elementary Grades

Jere E. Brophy and Joyce G. Putnam*

I. Introduction

Fuller (1969) identified classroom management as a primary focus of concern among student teachers. Even experienced teachers frequently mention it as a major problem. Administrators stress it in evaluating teacher competence, as does society generally. Despite this general stress upon its importance, however, there is little systematic theory or research on the topic.

In fact, it is fair to say that there is no systematic theory of classroom management as such. Until recently, most advice on the topic was based upon "the wisdom of the practitioner," recorded and disseminated unsystematically. This results in uneven accumulation of a "bag of tricks" - specific techniques based upon perceived success in particular situations by particular teachers. Much of this information appears to be sound, and much of it can be systematized through inductive reasoning, although the ideas that hold together the diverse practices recommended in any particular source usually are not spelled out, and there always seem to be some apparent contradictions as well as some very questionable practices among those recommended. (For examples of this genre, see Amsterdam, 1957, or Fisk and Lindgren, 1973).

Early works of this type were moralistic as well as informative, blending prescriptions about "proper" teacher appearance, dress, and general morality with suggestions about classroom management. The more practical and

---

*Jere E. Brophy is a professor of teacher education and educational psychology and senior researcher with the Institute for Research on Teaching. Joyce G. Putnam is assistant professor of teacher education and coordinator, EEE Teacher Education Program at Michigan State University.

prescriptive books stressed the need for inculcating proper habits in students through persistent training and reinforcement. Stripped of their moralistic tone, many of the recommendations in these books are the same ones made today: prepare the classroom in advance; review the rules with the students, including demonstration and practice if necessary; use positive, prescriptive language. However, much space was devoted in these early works to topics that are no longer of much importance. Improved building plans have reduced the need for concern about proper lighting and temperature. Reductions in class size, movement away from class recitation as the primary method of instruction, inclusion of lavatories in or near classrooms, and other changes have reduced the need for regimentation of activities and for concern about physical movement and interruptions.

Many early works propounded a romantic ideal of both the teacher and the students. These views have given way as schools and society have evolved and as teaching has become more of a profession than a service occupation. The teacher who acts as a parental proxy in training students to be virtuous has given way to the professional who stimulates interest and motivation in students and helps them develop insight into and control over their own behavior.

Over time, the moral exhortations supporting the bag of tricks were supplanted by more secular philosophies, often based on psychological theories. Garza (1977) has identified five such approaches: authoritarian, permissive, behavioristic, group process, and an approach based on creating a positive social and emotional climate. Garza notes that the last three of these approaches are different but defensible, and calls for their integration. It is true that even today most works on the topic are confined to the bag of tricks approach and/or to a limited philosophy/theory, but there are increasing

exceptions. Over 10 years ago, Gnagey (1968) published an integrative approach combining classroom research on group control techniques with principles of behavior modification and principles of psychotherapeutic intervention borrowed from Redl and Wattenberg (1959). More recently, Good and Brophy (1977, 1978) have drawn upon not only these sources but also the literature on child development and socialization, personal adjustment and mental health, and various social psychology topics such as leadership and group dynamics. Ideas from these various sources will be drawn upon in the present paper, as well.

Too often, "classroom management" is taken to mean punishment, or other methods used to stop unacceptable behavior. However, one idea that is common to most writings on the topic, and basic to this presentation as well, is the need to stress prevention over remediation. Knowing how to deal with student behavior problems is important, but the teacher skills that appear most crucial to success in managing the classroom appear to be those involved in planning, organizing, and maintaining a learning environment that maximizes student engagement in productive activities and thus minimizes the need to deal with problems in the first place (Kounin, 1970). This point is stressed not only in sources that address classroom management comprehensively (Good & Brophy, 1977, 1978), but also in sources concerned primarily with responding to student problems (Gordon, 1974). The same orientation will be evident in this paper, where pro-active teacher planning and decision making focused on setting up a functional physical environment, matching curriculum and instruction to student needs and interests, and establishing efficient routines for handling everyday classroom housekeeping and logistics problems will be stressed over methods of dealing with disruptive misbehavior. In short, a primary theme here is that of creating and maintaining a classroom atmosphere conducive to learning.

Another major theme will stress the personal characteristics of the

teacher, especially the modeling of attitudes, expectations, and behavior. This is partly because theory and research on systematic modeling appear to have implications for classroom management (Good & Brophy, 1977, 1978), but mostly because both systematic research from a variety of sources and common sense observation suggest that the personal characteristics of teachers will strongly affect the success they have with particular techniques. Teachers who are good models and who are skilled in interpersonal relationships probably will succeed with any reasonably consistent set of techniques that suits them, but teachers who lack these important personal qualities probably will have difficulty no matter what techniques they try. Thus, the preparation of a successful classroom manager may involve shaping of personal characteristics in addition to training specific skills.

A third theme running throughout the paper will be the implicit reference to a particular setting: the traditional, self-contained classroom. This is still the most common setting for instruction, and the one that has been the focus of most research. Also, classroom management is easiest to characterize and discuss in reference to a single teacher interacting with a stable group of students within a stable environment. So far as is known, the same principles that apply in the self-contained classroom also apply elsewhere, but adaptations to accommodate the differences would have to be made when applying them to other settings. This is an assumption, of course; there is practically no research (although there is unsystematic experience-based advice) on management in non-traditional settings. A few studies have been conducted, and their findings have been included in the paper where relevant. However, for the most part, the self-contained classroom setting is assumed implicitly in this paper and appropriate adaptations

must be made in applying the ideas elsewhere.

II. Characteristics of Students, Teachers, and Teaching-Learning Situations

We now turn to the topics at hand, beginning with discussion of characteristics of students, teachers, and teaching-learning situations that seem important for placing classroom management in perspective. This will be followed by material on organizing an effective learning environment, where the preventive aspects of classroom management will be stressed (Sections III and IV). Finally, we will turn attention to persistent student misbehavior and suggestions for coping with it (Sections VI and VII).

The Student Role

Built into any conception of classroom management are notions about desirable or appropriate student behavior. Taken together, these constitute what can be called the student role. Elements common to different conceptions of the student role include: (1) mastery of basic skills, (2) development of interest in and knowledge about the great variety of topics included in the formal curriculum, and (3) participation, usually as a member of a group, in a broad range of experiences that are not part of the formal curriculum but are traditional and often valued in schools as we know them. Some of the latter experiences do not have important instructional or socializational goals, but are included because they are considered necessary for efficient institutional functioning (taking roll, for example). Most, however, are designed to support the program of instruction (field trips, various extracurricular activities) or to develop qualities believed important for citizens in society at large (physical education, the pledge of allegiance

to the flag).

The specifics of the idealized student role differ across educational philosophies. The contrasts are often presented as absolutes (active vs. passive learning, didactic vs. discovery teaching, lock-step curriculum vs. individualized instruction), but typically they involve only differences in degree of emphasis rather than genuine, sharp contrasts. In practice, certain common elements are observable in the student role implicit in a great many forms of elementary instruction.

Many of these common elements were identified by Jackson (1968): Much regimentation of activity, restriction of physical movement, and subordination of individual desires to the personal authority of the teacher and the less personal but often quite restrictive school and classroom rules. The rules are intended to provide for an orderly and reasonably satisfactory group living experience within an institutional setting, and typically they are necessary and relatively effective in accomplishing this. However, they do so at a price that is familiar to all of us who have experienced it but is worth considering explicitly.

The net effect is the imposition of an unnatural and restrictive environment upon students. Much behavior that is considered natural and appropriate elsewhere is forbidden at school (boisterous talk and play), and many other things can be done only at specified times and according to specified methods (food and refreshment, use of the toilet, responding to individual needs and desires). There is the demand for sustained attention to lessons and academic tasks, with concomitant inhibition or restriction of behavior that is appropriate in other contexts. Finally, all of this goes on in a continually public setting, where any notable experiences of individuals typically

will be seen by the teacher and by other students as well.

These related aspects of the student role involve placing somewhat unnatural restrictions on all students, regardless of age, sex, or ethnicity. Therefore, it seems important to approach classroom management with a kind of cost/benefit analysis, investigating proposed classroom roles or management techniques with an eye toward: (1) what they are designed to accomplish, (2) what they do in fact accomplish, and (3) what kinds of side effects they may have. Certain practices can be seen as inappropriate for almost any classroom because they do not seem justified by any worthwhile goal (requiring students to remain absolutely silent at all times unless spoken to by the teacher) or because any positive effects they may have are likely to be outweighed by negative effects (persistent authoritarian and punitive techniques).

Individual differences. In addition to such considerations about managing students in general, knowledge about individual differences can be drawn upon to make distinctions among particular types of students, and these distinctions may have implications for qualifying general prescriptions about classroom management. Differences in age, sex, and ethnicity come readily to mind, along with a great many individual difference variables such as maturity and responsibility. If anything, these variables probably come to mind too readily, along with differential prescriptions presented in overly polarized and generalized ways (as in discussions of the needs of boys vs. girls or black students vs. white students). Actually, there is remarkably little evidence supporting the differential effectiveness of different techniques for different groups. Writers dealing with these topics rarely cite scientific evidence to support their recommendations, and even the recommendations themselves typically in-

volve relatively minor qualifications of major themes rather than the prescription of one clear-cut kind of treatment for one group and a very different treatment for another group. Even so, certain group and individual differences among students do seem important enough to be kept in mind by teachers trying to optimize their management of particular classes.

For example, well established sex differences (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) indicate that boys are more physically active than girls, at least during the childhood years, so that tight restrictions on physical movement are more difficult for them. Also, a combination of sustained attention and physical immobility is especially difficult for younger children to maintain, relative to older students. These student differences are well known, but what are their implications for classroom management? This question is not so easy to answer.

Clearly, they do not imply that no physical restrictions should be placed on certain students. Some will find physical restrictions more difficult to adjust to than others, but they can adjust to them. Before specifying implications, one would have to answer such questions as the following: (1) Is the general instructional model proposed for use with the classroom in question appropriate for the students in it? If so, what kinds of physical restrictions on students really seem to be necessary? (The term "least restrictive environment," presently used in reference to optimal placement of students with diagnosed disabilities, can be considered profitably with respect to normal students, as well. In view of the negative side effects of restrictions on students, it seems reasonable to conclude that such restrictions should be minimized, and adapted to specific situations where they are required.) (2) Is there more than one way that the same effect can be accom-

plished? (Where this is true, it is reasonable to provide choice opportunities so that students can use the method that is most acceptable to them.) (3) Have the reasons for restrictions been made clear to the students? (This is important both for developing their understanding and for helping them to accept the restrictions.)

Once restrictions are minimized, there still may be certain students (especially younger students and boys, but not necessarily so) who still have difficulty adjusting to them. Where this is the case, can the teacher think of ways to ease this adjustment? (Classroom activities can be scheduled so that periods of sustained concentration are required when the students seem most able to handle them, and so that recess and other times for vigorous activity occur when students are most likely to benefit from them. In addition, individual students who seem to need more physical activity can be given opportunities to get it in a great many ways that still accomplish instructional goals or at least do not conflict with them.)

The argument as presented so far may be summarized as follows. The student role associated with the institutionalized instruction of large, age graded groups imposes an artificial and restrictive environment upon students, compared to the environments they experience at home and at play. Enforcement of these demands can be time consuming and frustrating for teachers, and can result in a great many adjustment problems for students in general and certain students in particular. Therefore, it is important to minimize these problems, along with the side effects that accompany them, such as the development of negative attitudes toward teachers and schooling. <u>For a given classroom, the optimal classroom management approach is the one that establishes the desired learning environment while simultaneously imposing the</u>

fewest restrictions upon the teacher and the students.

Within this, general procedures need to be adapted to groups and individuals. Younger students and boys in particular will benefit not only from opportunities for physical movement but also from opportunities to physically manipulate concrete stimuli. All students will benefit from having the reasons for rules explained to them carefully, but especially students who do not typically get these kinds of explanations at home. Developing qualities like independence and responsibility in self care is an important management goal for all students, but especially for immature and dependent students.

Social scientists have identified many characteristics that vary across groups or cultures. These are sometimes pictured as having implications for classroom management, although the presumed implications are seldom spelled out. Often they involve greater tolerance for non-sanctioned behavior by students whose cultural backgrounds or experiences make adjustment to the student role especially difficult for them. For example, middle-class teachers accustomed to forbidding violence in connection with conflicts and forbidding language that they consider to be obscene tend to become noticeably more tolerant of these behaviors if they are assigned to work with lower class students, presumably in deference to local mores (Weiss & Weiss, 1975).

Also, teachers in these situations need to be especially sensitive about the danger of worsening existing conflicts between themselves and their students. Monitor roles should be confined to those that will not place students in conflict with the peer group, and appointments to peer leadership positions will require the involvement or at least the support of the existing peer leaders (Roberts, 1970; Riessman, 1962).

Another example concerns student nonverbal behavior during disciplinary contacts. Middle-class teachers typically expect students to maintain eye contact with them at these times, as a sign of both attention and respect. However, individuals in certain minority groups are taught to avert their eyes in such situations. For these individuals, maintaining eye contact may even connote defiance rather than respectful attention. Obviously, it is important for teachers working with such individuals to be aware of these cultural differences so as to be able to interpret their students' behavior correctly and respond to it appropriately. More generally, it seems important for teachers of any background and in any setting to be open-minded and tolerant in dealing with students who come from very different social or cultural backgrounds.

This does not necessarily mean catering to student preferences or reinforcing their expectations, however. Low SES children are accustomed to authoritarian treatment and even brutality, but this is not what they need from their teachers. If anything, such students have a greater need for teacher acceptance and warmth (Brophy & Evertson, 1976). In the case of minority group students who are alienated from school learning and discriminated against by the majority of the student body, successful teaching involves a combination of warmth and determination in demanding achievement efforts and enforcing conduct limits (Kleinfeld, 1975). More generally, the overall goals of classroom management for various categories of special students will be the same as they are for more typical students, although the specific methods used to accomplish these goals may differ somewhat (distractible students may need study carrels or other quiet places to work; very slow students may need special tutoring and opportunities to get more frequent and personal help from the teacher; poor workers may need contracts or other approaches that provide

a record of progress, break tasks into smaller segments, and/or provide for individualized reinforcement).

Student behavior problems. Most of the behavior "problems" that teachers deal with involve essentially trivial matters such as loud talking, unauthorized noisy movements, or other disruptions of the classroom learning environment. As noted previously, much of this behavior is considered normal and appropriate outside of the classroom. Even in the classroom, it is objectionable not because there is anything inherently wrong with it, but because it is incompatible with teaching and learning efforts, at least within the instrucitonal model being used. The general principles of classroom management discussed so far refer primarily to this level of problem.

In addition, there are the more enduring and serious problems presented by students with physical, mental, or behavioral disorders. The problems of exceptional students with physical or mental handicaps are not treated specifically here. However, we do include coping with students' behavior disorders as part of the task of classroom management for the ordinary teacher.

About one school child in 10 has moderate to severe adjustment problems, and the rate climbs to three in 10 if mild problems are included (Clarizio & McCoy, 1976). About three boys for every girl have moderate to severe problems, so that the rate is about 15% for boys and 5% for girls. About two-thirds of these childhood disturbances are related to specific external stress factors and likely to show significant improvement a year or two later, even without professional treatment (Clarizio & McCoy, 1976; Rutter, 1975).

Few of the disturbed students that teachers must deal with carry specific psychiatric diagnoses, and such labels are not of much relevance to teach-

ers in any case. In deciding whether and how to respond to behavior problems, teachers consider such variables as the identity of the students involved, the likelihood of the problem petering out vs. continuing or escalating, the apparent emotional state of the student (which varies daily), the time of year, whether the student's actions seem to be intentional and deliberate or not, and the probable consequences of the contemplated teacher behavior.

Many teachers will strike tacit bargains with persistent offenders, minimizing educational demands and even interactions with them in return for a degree of compliance (Hargreaves, Hester, & Mellor, 1975). This tactic can backfire, however. Often, teachers will not intervene with such students when their misbehavior is relatively mild, but then they will overreact negatively when they do intervene, thus feeding into the students' perceptions that the teacher is picking on them. Also, avoidance will minimize the teacher's opportunities to provide encouragement, support, and positive feedback at times when these students are behaving appropriately. These are examples of a more general principle: indirect methods that try to avoid dealing with problems or pretend that they do not exist are more likely to reinforce than to extinguish the problem behavior (This point will be expanded later in the paper).

Teachers with the willingness and skills to do so can play important roles in helping their disturbed students to improve their general personal adjustments, in addition to helping them cope with the demands of the student role. This can be difficult. In addition to disrupting the class for the usual reasons, disturbed students may lack self control, be aggressive toward their peers and defiant toward the teacher, or may indulge in lying, stealing, and other anti-social behaviors. Others are not disruptive but cause concern because of passivity, withdrawl, inhibition, or disturbed concepts of self. Teachers frequently must be more tolerant of the lapses of these individuals

with respect to their keeping classroom rules, and in addition, they often will need to spend a great deal of time working with them individually. Even so, the general principles of classroom management to be discussed here hold for disturbed students just as they do for other students. As always, there must be individual variations on the main themes, but there is no need for teachers to have one set of techniques for "disturbed" students and another set for "normal" students (Kounin & Obradovic, 1968).

Student expectations of teachers. Managing a classroom well is considered part of the essence of effective teaching at all levels. This view is usually held by teachers, teacher educators, and school administrators, and it is supported by research indicating that teachers who are good classroom managers also tend to produce more learning (Brophy & Evertson, 1976; Good & Brophy, 1977; Rosenshine & Berliner, 1978; Good & Grouws, 1975; McDonald & Elias, 1976).

In addition, students expect teachers to manage their classroom effectively, and they stress this expectation in developing general attitudes toward and evaluations of the teachers they see. This conclusion is commonly developed from casual observation in classrooms, and it is supported by a study by Nash (1976), involving systematic interviewing of school children.

Nash found six main themes in the responses of British school children about their attitudes and expectations concerning teachers: (1) keeps order (strict rather than soft, punishes if necessary);(2) teaches you (keeps you busy);(3) explains (can be understood, gives help if you need it);(4) interesting (provides variety, not boring);(5) fair (consistent, does not play favorites or pick on anyone); and(6) friendly (kind or nice, talks gently rather than shouts, can laugh when appropriate). Students not only prefer

this kind of teacher but expect teachers to be this way and tend not to go along with them or like them if they are not. Students see themselves as having mostly a passive role in regard to organizing and running the classroom, but they expect teachers to be active in doing so, and they hold it against them if they are not.

School children in the United States might be expected to place a little less stress on the authority figure aspects of the teacher role, because of differences between the educational traditions in the two countries. Even so, the expectations of students in the United States are probably similar to those found by Nash in England. This would include the recognition that the teacher is or should be the authority figure in the classroom and therefore should play that role. The implication seems to be that teachers who try to avoid setting limits and imposing necessary structure will find that this policy backfires, resulting not only in classroom management problems but also in diminished student respect and liking.

Teacher Characteristics

Teachers' success in managing classrooms will be determined not only by their skills and techniques, but also by their personal qualities and the effects these qualities have upon students. Teachers are more likely to be successful to the extent that their students like and respect them, and thus are eager to cooperate with them. The relationships between various teacher personal attributes and success in classroom management have never been investigated systematically, but relevant inferences can be drawn from the results of studies of student attitudes toward teachers, such as the study by Nash described above, from information on the attributes of individuals who

are effective models (Bandura, 1969), and from information on the attributes of individuals who are effective parents (Brophy, 1977).

First, it seems helpful if teachers are liked by their students. Characteristics that are important here are the same ones important for making any individual well liked: a cheerful disposition, friendliness, emotional maturity, sincerity, trustworthiness, and many other qualities associated with general mental health and personal adjustment. There is not much to say about such qualities other than to note that they are extremely important, even though they are usually considered beyond the scope of teacher education programs. They are probably much more important than such variables as the kinds of reward systems used in the classroom, the attention signals used, the variety of classroom monitor roles, or the number of affective development activities scheduled per month.

Teaching, after all, involves working with people as part of the essence of the job. In the case of elementary teachers, the people happen to be children, who are less able than adults to understand and adapt to mental health problems in others. Poorly adjusted individuals can do a lot of damage in this teaching role, especially with young and impressionable students who accept what their teachers tell them at face value. In view of these dangers, it seems reasonable to argue for systematic measures to keep individuals with unacceptable personal attributes out of the classroom (preferably by counseling them out of teacher education programs in the first place, but also by refusing certification to those who are enrolled, where necessary). This has not always been feasible in the past, but it certainly is at times like the present when there is an oversupply of potential teachers available.

The personal attributes discussed so far are rather general and apply to

almost any aspect of the teacher role. In addition, there are many important qualities that teachers should have when managing the classroom and functioning in the role of classroom authority figure. Many of these flow from what has been called "ego strength," an underlying self-confidence that enables individuals to remain calm in a crisis, listen actively without becoming defensive or authoritarian, avoid win-lose conflicts, and maintain a problem solving orientation rather than resort to withdrawal, blaming, hysteria, or other emotional overreactions. Many of the skills involved in effective problem solving can be learned systematically and should be included in teacher education programs. Also, authoritarian individuals can learn to tolerate what they see as challenges to their authority, and those who tend to avoid conflict at all cost can become more comfortable with it and able to handle it effectively. Here again, though, it seems reasonable to argue for minimum standards in interpersonal skills and problem solving abilities. Individuals who repeatedly indulge in brutality, sadism, temper tantrums, or hysteria as a response to difficulties with students do not belong in the classroom.

Teachers with serious personal deficiencies of the kinds discussed in this section will not be successful classroom managers no matter what skills they possess or what techniques they use. Their behavior at times will be so inappropriate and self-defeating as to negate anything they might accomplish through systematic application of effective management techniques. However, teachers who do not have these problems can develop conscious and systematic approaches to managing the classroom, including a great many specific techniques, to increase student learning and reduce management problems.

Developmental Aspects of Classroom Management

As students progress through school grades they undergo personal and social development as individuals. These developmental differences imply differences in goals and techniques of classroom management at different grade levels. Brophy and Evertson (1976) identified four such stages, three of which apply to the elementary grades.

In the first stage, students in kindergarten and the early elementary grades are being socialized into the role of student in addition to being instructed in basic skills. Most children at these ages are still oriented to adults as authority figures. They are predisposed to do what they are told and to feel gratified when they please teachers and upset when they do not. Teachers provide nurturant socialization during these years, serving not only as classroom authority figure and instructional leaders but also as the individuals to whom students turn to for directions, encouragement, solace, assistance, and personalized attention generally. The kinds of serious disturbances described above usually are not yet present.

Consequently, teachers function primarily as instructors and trainers in regard to classroom management, introducing students to life at school and inculcating student role behaviors as overlearned habits. The emphasis is on instructing children about what to do rather than on getting them to comply with familiar rules. These instructional or socializational aspects of classroom management are a basic part of the teacher's job in the early grades; indeed, it probably is not possible to teach young children effectively without spending considerable time on these tasks.

This stage is followed by one in which the time spent handling classroom management concerns is reduced, and teachers are able to concentrate on instructing students in the formal curriculum. This teaching situation is frequently seen in the early and middle grades, starting when basic socialization

to the student role is completed and continuing as long as most students remain adult oriented and relatively compliant. At this second stage, students are familiar with most school routines and thus need less socialization in that regard, and at the same time the serious disturbances seen frequently later have not yet become common. Creating and maintaining an appropriate learning environment remain central to teaching success, but these tasks consume less teacher time.

A new stage appears and becomes prominent as more and more students lose their childish dependency upon teachers and switch orientation from pleasing teachers to pleasing the peer group. The management considerations facing teachers during this stage are most evident in junior high school classrooms, although in some schools they appear much earlier. In any case, classrooms formerly characterized by industrious students concerned primarily with improving their academic knowledge and skills under the direction of the teacher have given way to classrooms populated mostly with students who are concerned more than anything else with enjoying good times with and being accepted by their classmates. Most students still like and respect their teachers, but not as much as before. Positive interactions with teachers that occur in private are likely to be gratifying, but public praise from a teacher becomes embarrassing and can cause problems with peers. Teachers begin to be resented when they act as authority figures, and maintaining control of the class can be very difficult at times. Also, during this stage, certain students become more noticeably disturbed and much more difficult to control than they used to be.

As a result of these influences, classroom management again becomes a prominent part of the teacher role at this third stage. In fact, managing

the classroom generally and accomplishing socialization related to students' personal and social adjustment is as much or more important at these grades than teaching the formal curriculum. Students have mastered tool skills and matured as learners, so that they can manage much of their learning on their own. They are much less dependent upon the teacher to provide direct instruction, except in areas totally new to them. Also, at this stage, the teacher's primary problem is motivating the students to behave as they know they are supposed to, not instructing them on how to do it (as in the first stage). Classroom management is much more time consuming than at the previous stage, yet also different from what it was like at the first stage.

This stage gives way to a fourth stage, usually sometime during the high school years. As many of the most alienated students drop out of school, and as increasing numbers of the rest of the students become intellectually and socially more mature, classrooms once again assume an increasingly academic focus. Classroom management requires even less time than it did at the second stage, because students assume almost complete responsibility for managing their movements and activities at school. At these higher levels, teaching is mostly a matter of instructing students in the formal curriculum. Classroom management remains important but requires little time (except in the first few class meetings), and student socialization conducted with the group almost disappears. The socialization that does occur is mostly informal, conducted during out-of-class contacts with individuals.

These developmental aspects of classroom management should be taken into account in matching teachers to grade levels. Teachers who enjoy working with young children, who like to provide nurturant socialization as well as instruction, and who have the patience and skills needed for socializing young chil-

dren into the student role, would be especially well placed in the early elementary grades. Elementary-level teachers who want to concentrate mostly on instruction would be best placed in the middle grades, after most of the initial socialization is accomplished but before the problems associated with preadolescence become prominent. Finally, the upper grades would be best for elementary teachers who enjoy or at least are not bothered by the provocative behavior of preadolescents and who see themselves as socialization agents and models at least as much as instructors in the narrower sense of the term.

Classroom and group management are discussed in the following sections. All teachers should be familiar with these techniques and able to use them when appropriate. Later sections will discuss techniques for dealing in depth with individual students who present more serious and prolonged problems, not only in classroom conduct but in general personal adjustment. Teachers should be familiar with these techniques as well, although their use of them will depend upon such factors as the type of school in which they teach, the grade level they teach, and their own definitions of the teacher's roles. Teachers who conceive of themselves primarily as instructors and believe that student socialization is part of the teaching role only insofar as it is necessary to create the desired learning environment may hesitate to get involved in their students' personal problems. However, teachers who wish to function as socializing agents, not just instructors, will find the techniques described in later sections of the chapter useful for that purpose as well as for classroom management in the narrower sense.

III. Preparing the Classroom as a Learning Environment

As with most problems, the most effective way to deal with classroom man-

agement problems is to prevent them in the first place rather than allow them to develop and then try to solve them. Teachers can accomplish this through advanced planning and preparation of the classroom as a suitable environment for group functioning generally and learning in particular.

Part of the preparation for effective classroom management is preparation for effective instruction. This was shown clearly in a programmatic set of studies conducted by Kounin (1970) and his colleagues. They began by identifying notably successful and unsuccessful classroom managers and comparing their responses to inattentive or disruptive students. The logic of this approach was simple and clear: systematic differences between the two groups in the ways that they handled student misbehavior probably would account for their differential success. Surprisingly though, exhaustive study failed to reveal systematic differences in the ways that successful and unsuccessful teachers responded to student misbehavior.

Subsequent analyses revealed that the investigators were looking in the wrong place. There <u>were</u> many important differences between the groups, but they were not in responses to student misbehavior. Instead, they were in the advanced planning and preparation that goes into effective instruction, and in the group management techniques that teachers used to prevent inattention and disruption (as opposed to the "desist" techniques used to respond after these problems occurred). Preparation for instruction will be discussed in the present section, and group management techniques in the next.

Preparation for instruction includes both the preparation of materials for use by teacher and students and the preparation for presenting information during lessons. Kounin reported that the lessons of effective teachers proceeded smoothly and at a good pace, but the lessons of the teachers who had

management problems lacked coherence. Sometimes, they were simply too long, boring, and repetitive. Usually, though, student inattention and misbehavior were traceable to problems of discontinuity in the lesson, which in turn were traceable to inadequate teacher preparation. Students usually were attentive and involved whenever lessons followed a logical structure and moved along at a good pace. The incidence of problems increased sharply, though, when teachers began to wander for no apparent reason, needlessly repeated and reviewed material that everyone already understood, paused to gather their thoughts or prepare material that should have been prepared earlier, or interrupted the lesson to deal with behavior problems occurring outside of the group or to deal with some other concern that could have been postponed until later. At times like these, the students became noticeably restless and fidgety, bored, or more clearly inattentive, and these problems increased the longer the lesson discontinuity continued.

The implication here seems clear: Teachers will minimize classroom management problems if they conduct smooth and well paced lessons. What this means in a particular instance will vary with the experience level of the teacher and the familiarity of the lesson, but prior review of the lesson's objectives and procedures and preparation of any needed props would seem to be a minimum. Some teachers may require preparation of note cards, role play, microteaching, or other rehearsal techniques. Whatever the method, the result should be readiness to conduct lessons without the lapses in continuity that bring on management problems.

Any props needed by the teacher should be fully prepared and ready for immediate use. Unless it is intended that students watch the actual preparation of some demonstration, for example, it should be prepared in final form.

This applies to props held up for viewing, material put on blackboards or the overhead, and aspects of scientific demonstrations that there is no need for students to observe. Work sheets or other materials usually should be distributed at the beginning of the lesson, so they will be available when needed. (There are exceptions as when these materials would distract students from attending to the presentation or would prematurely "give away" a surprise). Such considerations illustrate a general principle: effective teaching involves selection of strategies to see that objectives are reached, as opposed to mastery of a specific set of competencies to be applied to all situations. It is not presence of a specific method, but success or failure in meeting objectives, that counts.

Besides materials for lessons, teachers must prepare seatwork assignments. Most research and writing about teaching is focused on public lessons and recitations. Yet, elementary students spend much of their day working independently (Brophy & Evertson, 1976; Nash, 1973; McDonald & Elias, 1976). Students working independently are both more subject to distraction and less subject to teacher supervision than students in a group led by the teacher. Sometimes teachers circulate to provide continuous supervision, but often they are busy with small group instruction while most of the class is supposed to be working independently. Success here depends on sustained student engagement in independent work.

Kounin (1970) found that student involvement in seatwork depends on the challenge and variety the work presents. Students quickly become satiated with tasks that present no challenge, especially if they are repetitive and lacking in variation. The principle here seems clear: If students are expected to remain engaged in independent work for significant periods of

time, the work will have to be at an appropriate level of difficulty enabling them to work on it continuously without either giving up because it is too difficult or losing concentration and motivation because it is repetitive and lacking in challenge. Beyond this, it seems prudent to recommend that seatwork involve variety, to combat boredom, and in general, be as interesting as possible. Accomplishing this requires teacher preparation.

The contrast between public recitations and seatwork illustrates that general principles of classroom management must be supplemented with specific techniques adapted to the unique demands of various activity structures and behavior settings. Kounin & Gump (1974) analyzed six types of activities and found important differences in continuity of signal input, insulation from outside distractions, and degree of intrusiveness of the actions of the participants in the activity itself. In turn, these differences dictated that different strategies were required for successful management of various activities, even though the teachers were the same. Later analyses revealed that differences in continuity are associated with differences in task involvement within activity types as well as across them. That is, for any particular activity type, some strategies are more effective than others (Kounin & Doyle, 1975).

By extension, the work of Kounin and his colleagues implies that classroom management problems will be caused by any factor that results in delays or confusion. Good and Brophy (1977, 1978) have identified a variety of these, all of which can be at least minimized by teachers who concentrate on doing so.

Traffic patterns. Classrooms should be arranged so that traffic can flow freely. Heavy traffic areas (such as between activity areas or around the doorways) should be free of bottlenecks and obstacles. Everyday traffic patterns should be planned so that students do not bump into the furnishings or one another. Supplies and equipment used every day should be stored as near as possible to the activity areas in which they are typically used.

Bottlenecks and lines. Problems are especially likely to develop when students are standing in lines, whether these are deliberately formed by the teacher or are the result of bottlenecks that build up inadvertently. There are many things that teachers can do to minimize the time students spend standing and waiting. One is to delegate authority or use monitors to help accomplish time consuming housekeeping tasks such as passing out books or papers, checking out supplies, taking attendance, and making collections. Activities like using the toilet or drinking fountain can be left to individual initiative within whatever limits are necessary, instead of requiring the whole class or an entire group to go at one time or using some other regimented approach. Supplies like scissors or paste should be dispensed from several different places dispersed around the room, so that students do not have to line up and wait their turn at a single source. Checking of worksheets can be accomplished as a group activity, or by asking students to indicate a need for checking when they are ready or when they think they need help, or by the teacher circulating among students and checking work which has been accomplished. Necessarily repetitive activities like "show and tell" or having students give brief speeches can be staggered across several days to avoid the management problems that result if everyone takes a turn in a single session.

Student independence and responsibility. Elementary school teachers often spend much more time than they need to supervising students in relation to personal needs and everyday housekeeping tasks, and interruptions for this purpose are a major source of discontinuity in lessons and activities.

Teachers can minimize these problems by preparing the classroom and the students so as to enable the students to handle as many of these things as possible on their own without needing to consult the teacher or be supervised. This is especially important at the early grades, where students' abilities to handle particular tasks often depend on the degree to which the teacher has anticipated their needs. Young students can handle most of their own belongings with the help of coat hooks and cubby holes or lockers, but these should be within easy reach (not too high) and should be assigned individually. Color codes, pictures, and labels can be affixed to storage areas to help students locate what they are looking for and remember where to return the items when they are finished. Everyday equipment should be stored where it can be reached and removed easily, and small items should be stored in containers that will not break and that can be opened and closed without difficulty. Notices giving instructions or rule reminders can be displayed prominently in activity centers, so that students who need help will not necessarily have to come to the teacher.

Back-up activities. Effective classroom managers will have contingency plans for what to do when scheduled activities are cancelled at the last minute or when bad weather precludes outside recess. At these times they should be prepared as they would be for lessons, ready to smoothly conduct the activity and in possession of any needed props or equipment. Even more important is the development of a system of back-up activities, preferably including op-

tions to allow for individual choice, to make available to students when they finish their independent work assignments. In these situations, students should have available to them a number of attractive individual and small group learning activities and pastimes. Ideally, they should know exactly what the options are and what rules govern them, and should be able to exercise these options on their own initiative without having to get help or direction from the teacher.

It should be clear that preventive preparation of this kind will cut down the need for teachers to spend time handling routine classroom management problems, thus making the task much easier. Also, it should be noted that time spent establishing procedures for routine handling of management problems and teaching these procedures to the students pays off continuously over the long run. In contrast, after-the-fact remediation efforts can solve only the immediate situation, and the problem is likely to be repeated again and again in the future. Good preparation frees teachers from needless interruptions, minimizes student frustration, and enables teachers to concentrate on acting as instructional leaders rather than authority figures. Thus, good classroom management begins before the students ever enter the classroom.

IV. Classroom Climate and Rules

Pending the accumulation of more classroom research, it will remain necessary to borrow principles from other sources in making prescriptions about classroom management. There are two major sources for these ideas. First, information from various branches of psychology and from research on child rearing indicates teacher attributes and behavior that should be desirable in creating an effective learning climate and a positive classroom atmosphere. Most

of this information concerns general principles for dealing with the class as a whole. The second major source is a number of writers who have developed systematic methods for dealing with specific aspects of classroom management, especially for dealing with teacher-student conflict and with student personal adjustment problems. Principles borrowed from these sources apply primarily to the interactions that teachers have with individual students rather than to their behavior with the class as a whole. One particular and especially rich source of ideas, applied behavior analyses or behavior modification, has developed principles that are applicable to both of these situations. These sources of ideas will be discussed in subsequent sections.

Principles Borrowed from Social Psychology, Developmental Psychology, and Socialization Research

Social psychology. The classic study of Lewin, Lippitt, and White (1939) on leadership style is often cited in works on classroom management. This was a field experiment in which adults working with groups of 10-year-old boys were trained to consistently act authoritarian, democratic, or laissez-faire. Authoritarian leaders gave orders but without much explanation, telling everyone what to do, and with whom. Democratic leaders took time to solicit opinions and achieve some consensus about what to do and how to do it, and allowed some choice of work companions. The laissez-faire leaders did not really lead at all, giving only vague directions and sketchy answers to questions. The effectiveness of these leadership styles was assessed both for group productivity (efficiency in carrying out assigned tasks) and for the affective quality of the group experience (did the boys enjoy it?).

The results support the democratic leadership style at least in the setting investigated. Boys in democratically-led groups developed warm feelings for one another and the leader, and enjoyed their experience. These affective benefits were achieved with only a slight cost in efficiency (the productivity of the democratic led groups was not quite as good as that of the authoritarian-led groups). The authoritarian-led groups were the most efficient in meeting production goals, because the leaders kept everyone working at a good pace. However, the boys in these groups showed tension and generally negative feelings toward one another and the leader. Laissez-faire leadership did not succeed by either criterion. The ostensible freedom experienced by these boys did not make up for the lack of leadership, so they spent much time working at cross purposes, produced very little, and had negative views of their experience.

Subsequent studies of group leadership have produced similar results: Laissez-faire leadership is generally ineffective; authoritarian leadership is efficient but otherwise unattractive; and democratic leadership produces positive attitudes and good group relations, although at some cost in efficiency. To most observers, this implies that democratic leadership is best for teachers, at least as an overall style, although more structured leadership may be required when efficiency is important. (See also the following section on principles borrowed from socialization research).

The structure of the group is important, too. Effective groups show cohesiveness and positive attitudes. Less effective groups are divided into conflicting sub-groups or into a dominant and prestigious ingroup and a collection of isolated individuals in the outgroup. As the classroom leaders, teachers can promote group cohesiveness by arranging for cooperative experi-

ences, minimizing competition, promoting pro-social behaviors, and helping each member of the class to identify with the class as a whole. They should avoid such behaviors as playing favorites, picking on scapegoats, fostering competition, or refusing to allow students to work together or help one another (Johnson, 1970; Johnson & Johnson, 1975; Stanford, 1977).

Teachers are often in the position of trying to lead students who have been together for some years and constitute an intact group with well-established peer leadership. Teachers in this situation probably will find it important to gain the confidence and cooperation of the peer leaders, and to avoid getting into direct conflict with them or causing them to lose face before the group. This is probably especially important when teachers are working with students from a different social class or ethnic background (Roberts, 1970; Reissman, 1962), or with students whose attitudes and value systems contrast significantly with those of the teacher. Open conflict with leaders in this situation may not only provoke confrontations but result in loss of credibility and respect.

Another important principle of social psychology is that expectations tend to be self-fulfilling. This idea has been stressed with respect to the effects of teacher expectations on student achievement, but there is reason to believe that it also applies to expectations in other areas, such as classroom management (Brophy & Good, 1974). Other things being equal, a teacher who expects to be obeyed is more likely to be obeyed than one who does not. The same applies to expectations concerning student interest in lessons and assignments, ability to exercise self control, willingness to consider alternatives and to try to solve a problem in good faith, and sincerity of intentions to keep promises.

A related principle concerns teacher attitudes toward students: They are likely to be reciprocated. Teachers who like and respect their students usually will find that their students like and respect them, too.

These principles have profound implications for teachers, and they help explain why it is so important that teachers' characteristics and behavior be consistent with their expressed philosophy and ideals, and why authoritarian, punitive, or other negative approaches to classroom management do not succeed. Many other topics in social psychology are not directly related to classroom management, but are relevant to it because they affect classroom atmosphere. Included here would be research comparing the effects of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic reward structures (Johnson & Johnson, 1975) and reports of studies using teams, games and tournaments to improve student achievement motivation and group relations DeVries & Slavin, 1976).

Socialization research. Research on parenting provides an especially rich set of guidelines for classroom management by teachers. Certain personal traits and child rearing behaviors are seen regularly in parents who share positive relationships with their children and are successful in ehiping the children develop as well adjusted individuals (Brophy, 1977). These include: acceptance of and respect for each child as an individual; imposition of firm but flexible limits, and adjusting these to reflect the development of greater maturity, independence, or responsibility; an emphasis on the positive, featuring positive expectations and an approach to socialization that stresses instruction and demonstration over restriction and punishment; consistent explanation of the rationales that underlie demands, so the children can see the implications of their behavior for themselves and others; consistency in stating and enforcing demands both within and across individuals; and

the consistent modeling of behavior stressed as ideal (practicing what you preach). These attributes should help make teachers effective as classroom managers, by maximizing the degree to which students see them as likeable, respectable, credible, and reasonable.

The research of Baumrind (1971) produced results that place into perspective the findings on group leadership styles discussed earlier. Baumrind classified parents as authoritarian, authoritative, or laissez-faire. These classifications are similar to those used in the earlier group leadership study by Lewin, et. al. (1939), except that the term "authoritative" replaces the term "democratic." The change is an important one because "authoritative" is much more descriptive of the kind of leadership found to be optimal, whether in groups or in the home.

As Baumrind (1971) notes, the kind of leadership often termed "democratic" is not really democratic at all (decisions are not made by majority vote). It is "authoritative" in the sense that the leader has a position of authority and responsibility, speaks as an experienced and mature adult, and retains ultimate decision-making power. However, rather than act in an authoritarian manner, authoritative leaders solicit input, seek consensus, and take care to see that everyone is clear about the rationales for decisions as well as the decisions themselves. Baumrind reports that, compared to children of other kinds of parents, the children of authoritative parents show the most advanced levels of autonomy and independence for their ages, and have greater confidence and generally more healthy self concepts. These results from Baumrind's research are representative of findings of many other socialization studies that use various terminology and methods (reviewed in Brophy, 1977).

There are two reasons for stressing this work in developing a conceptual basis for prescriptions about classroom management. The first reason is semantic. The term "authoritative" is preferable to the term "democratic," because it retains the notion that the teacher has the ultimate responsibility for classroom leadership. The idea that decisions should be made by majority vote was not intended and is not supported by the research of Lewin, et. al. (1939), despite their use of the term "democratic." Nor does other research support the notion of truly democratic classroom leadership, although this style is often recommended on a philosophical basis.

A second reason for calling attention to socialization research is that it provides a more convincing and data-based argument to support authoritative over authoritarian and laissez-faire methods. Authoritative methods are not merely better perceived; they are more effective in building the cognitive structures and behavioral control mechanisms within children that enable them to become both independent and responsible in managing their affairs. In the classroom, authoritative teacher behavior should help students see and internalize the rationales that underly classroom rules, and to learn to operate within the rules on their own initiative. In contrast, authoritarian approaches depend upon external pressure and do not encourage the development of internal control mechanisms, so that they generate conflict and tension even when they do succeed in controlling behavior.

Developmental Psychology. Student developmental level is a pervasive background factor in any discussion of classroom management in the elementary school. We noted earlier that the need to stress classroom management and socialization relative to

instruction differs across grade levels, as do the specific tasks that must be accomplished. We now add that, among other criteria, approaches to classroom management must be suited to the developmental level of the students. This applies to such things as expectations regarding attention span, ability to handle self-care responsibilities, length and variety of tasks that can be completed independently, degree of control over physical activity and impulses, insight into own behavior and that of classmates, and ability to generate appropriate classroom rules.

At minimum, developmental considerations dictate that teachers avoid imposing demands that most of their students are unable to meet yet or that are much too restrictive or otherwise inappropriate for the level of development of the students in the class. More specific developmental guidelines are proposed by Tanner (1978), who places unusually strong emphasis on development in her treatment of classroom management. Also, the ideas of Kohlberg and others who have written about moral development in children have been incorporated into systematic programs of moral education. These specialized programs will appeal to school systems wishing to supplement more traditional activities with deliberate moral socialization.

Classroom Application

Good and Brophy (1977, 1978) combined ideas from these and other sources into an integrated approach based upon creation of a positive general classroom atmosphere and a good working relationship between the teacher and each

individual student. They assert that this is much more important than the presence or absence of any specific technique, and that all techniques used must be compatible with these goals, with one another, and with the teacher's personal preferences. Regardless of technique, the teacher's words and actions should consistently communicate integrity, sincerity, concern for collective and individual student welfare, and positive attitudes and expectations (not only about student learning potential but also about students' willingness and ability to cooperate with the teacher and with one another). The teacher's goal is not so much to be liked by the students as to earn their respect.

Part of this involves acting consistently in ways that are respectable, modeling such virtues as "common sense" rationality, emotional maturity, and self control, and avoiding problems such as prejudice or intolerance, sarcasm, or moralistic nagging. Another part is the establishment of credibility, which includes accurate discrimination of facts from opinions or values, consistent correspondence between words and actions, and consistent follow through on committments. Some of these traits are general, and difficult to express in behavioral terms, but they do seem fundamental to successful classroom management.

Establishing good relationships with students is desirable because it is an important preventive management method, among other reasons. Other things being equal, students will be more likely to pay attention and cooperate when the teacher is a person with whom they share a valued personal relationship (vs. an impersonal authority figure). This will also enhance the teacher's potential for being imitated as a model and for being effective as a source of social reinforcement.

Effective management also requires a workable set of classroom rules and procedures. Good and Brophy recommend that rules be minimized, be phrased in terms of the general qualitative aspects of behavior rather than as specific dos and don'ts, and be as flexible and open to change as situations dictate. Minimizing the number of rules helps students be able to remember them and makes it easier to accept them. Also, rules such as "we will treat one another with courtesy and respect" or "we will keep the classroom clean and neat" use positive language likely to be accepted by students and are prescriptive enough to be understood and applied in a great many specific situations (Brown, 1971).

Maintaining some flexibility in applying rules allows teachers to adapt to situational differences and growth in student ability to function independently. A general rule like "when you finish your work you can move around and talk but do not disturb those who are still working" is extremely flexible. It is preferable to overly restrictive general rules (students must not talk unless given explicit permission) and also to having a large number of overly specific rules for different situations.

Rules need to be stressed on the first day of school and again periodically during the next few weeks, as necessary, until they are working satisfactorily. There is no need for a teacher to be artificially strict or threatening (there is no support for the "don't smile until Christmas" notion), but students should be clear about what the rules are and should receive assistance in remembering and following them, if necessary. Especially in the early grades, getting the year off to a good start may require the teacher to show students what to do and give them practice in doing it rather than just telling them. This will mean lessons and practice activities related to such things as making a transition from seatwork to a reading group and vice-versa, using

the toilet or the pencil sharpener, and managing the equipment in a listening center (Evertson & Anderson, 1978). Such activities will be completely new to some students, and even for those who have done them before in another class, the specifics of doing them in this class may require important adjustments in old habits. A few minutes spent in such lessons, backed by occasional reminders, help students learn what to do and how to do it smoothly, and eliminate many potential management problems for the rest of the year.

Management also is facilitated by good monitor systems. Student helpers can do a great many everyday housekeeping tasks, as well as speed up the preparation of equipment and the distribution of supplies. As additional advantages, performing these tasks helps students develop a sense of responsibility to the teacher and the class, and the special teacher-student interactions that occur in connection with these duties help build teacher-student relationships. To use these resources efficiently, however, teachers need to think through the kinds of student helper roles they want to establish in their classes and be prepared to train the students accordingly at the beginning of the year.

Although there is agreement about the kinds of rules and procedures that are effective, there is wide disagreement on the issue of the degree to which students should be involved in establishing them. At minimum, it seems important that students should recognize the rules as reasonable and understand the rationales behind them as well as the rules themselves. It also seems clear that students <u>can</u> take partial or even complete responsibility for establishing and enforcing classroom rules. Writers disagree on whether or not they <u>should</u>.

Some note that certain rules are going to be necessary whether or not stu-

dents initiate or even agree with them, so that attempts to act as if the students really were being granted autonomy are basically hypocritical and counterproductive. Others favor the idea, but only to the extent that the students seem receptive to it and mature enough to handle the attendant responsibilities. Still others believe that rules should come, not from the teacher as an authority figure, but from democratically conducted classroom meetings. Glasser (1969), Gordon (1974), and Stanford (1977), among others, not only articulate this philosophy but suggest specific techniques for conducting such classroom meetings and building general classroom management around them. As with other specific techniques, the value of developing classroom rules through group discussions, and of using group discussions as the primary method of managing the classroom, will depend upon the degree to which they are compatible with the teacher's values and personal preferences and with other management techniques being used.

So far, the discussion has focused on teacher behavior involved in setting the stage for good classroom management and getting the year off to a good start. We now turn to the teacher behavior involved in everyday activities throughout the year, beginning with techniques for managing the group during instruction.

V. Group Management Techniques

In addition to what has already been discussed, Kounin (1970) identified several techniques of group management that were associated with success in managing the classroom generally. Again, these techniques involve maintaining student engagement in activities and avoiding dangerous periods of delay or confusion; they are not techniques for dealing with misbehavior once it has occurred.

One very general and important teacher characteristic noted by Kounin is what he called "withitness." Teachers who demonstrate withitness remain continuously aware of what is going on in all parts of the classroom, and they communicate this awareness to students. They remain aware by relying on a combination of good habits: stationing themselves physically so that they can monitor all of the students, scanning the class frequently to keep track of what is going on, even when working with individuals or small groups, and intervening when necessary to prevent minor inattention from escalating into major disruption. Less effective teachers have formed bad habits that prevent them from remaining "withit." Many become so immersed in their interactions with individuals or small groups that they ignore the rest of the class for significant periods of time. As a result, essentially trivial inattentiveness often escalates into more serious disruption, the more so as students come to realize that the teacher is not paying attention to them.

Some teachers place themselves behind barriers that obstruct their vision (or allow students to do so), so that it is not even possible for them to monitor portions of the class. Other teachers monitor just enough to notice when inattention starts to become serious disruption, but often misinterpret what is happening because they have not seen the sequence of events that led to the problem. This leads to mistakes such as blaming the victim rather than the instigator. In general, teachers who cultivate "withitness" will be prepared to intervene appropriately when necessary, and will not have to intervene as often.

A related trait of effective classroom managers was called "overlapping" by Kounin. This refers to the overlapping of simultaneous activities, or the ability to do more than one thing at a time. Examples include scanning the

classroom regularly while simultaneously teaching a small group or working with an individual, responding to student requests for help or direction while still keeping track of the reading or recitation of a member of a group, or circulating around the room and giving different kinds of help or directions to different individuals or groups. Part of the importance of overlapping is its obvious role in promoting withitness. Another part is the role it plays in helping the teacher maintain lesson pacing and avoid delays. Consider the effect on a reading group, for example, if teachers make the group just stop and wait while they deal with the needs of individuals who come for help, or if they interrupt them and ask them to go back and read lines over again because they didn't hear them. Part of the secret of overlapping seems to be learning to keep helping contacts with individual students brief, giving just enough guidance to enable these students to "get going" again, but not taking time out for extended individualized interaction if this is going to create a bottleneck of students waiting for chances to ask about their individual concerns.

Another important variable noted by Kounin was smoothness of transitions between activities and within sections of activities. Part of this is a accomplished by consistent day-to-day behavior on the part of the teacher combined with training students to follow certain routines that promote efficiency in changing activities. Another part is provision of brief but clear and complete instructions to the group as a whole, and then following through as appropriate. Teachers who are not conducting smooth transitions often waste a lot of time here and create delay and confusion because they allow themselves to be repeatedly distracted by the questions or actions of individuals. As a result, they may give out too many and too specific in-

structions, repeating themselves unnecessarily, interrupting everyone to ask if previous instructions have been carried out yet, confusing students who are trying to carry out previous instructions by giving new ones that may or may not be meant for them, and so on.

Transitions within activities are often lengthy and confusing because such teachers are not prepared to move smoothly into the next part of the lesson. This leads to false starts in which orders are given and then retracted, movement into the new phase of the lesson is interrupted because something omitted from a previous phase is now remembered, and other signs of poor preparation. Such discontinuties break student concentration, ruin the flow of the lesson, and engender restlessness, confusion, and other problems.

Yet another aspect of effective management noted by Kounin is "group alerting" which refers to teacher behavior designed to maintain or re-establish attention during lessons. In the positive sense, group alerting refers to things that teachers do to keep the rest of the group attentive while any one member is reciting. These include looking around the group before calling on someone to recite, keeping the students in suspense as to who will be called on next by selecting randomly, getting around to everyone frequently, interspersing choral responses with individual responses, asking for volunteers to raise their hands, throwing out challenges by declaring that the next question is difficult or tricky, calling on listeners to comment upon or correct a response, and presenting novel or interesting material. Negative aspects of group alerting (things to avoid) include overconcentration on the student doing the reciting to the point that the rest of the group is not monitored, directing new questions only to the reciter, prepicking the reciter before a question is even stated, and having reciters perform in a predetermined order.

In addition to these group alerting techniques there are several techniques that maximize student accountability for paying attention. Teachers can hold students accountable by requiring them to hold up props, expose answers, or otherwise indicate attention to the lesson, having them recite in unison (while monitoring carefully), asking listeners to comment on recitations, asking for volunteers, circulating and checking performance, and calling on individuals. Many of the techniques that Kounin lists under "accountability" are similar to those listed under "group alerting."

Subsequent research by others supports most but not all of Kounin's recommendations. In a correlational study at second and third grade (Brophy & Evertson, 1976) and in an experimental study of first grade reading groups (Anderson, Evertson, & Brophy, 1978), withitness, overlapping, and smoothness of lesson pacing and transitions all were associated not only with better management, but with better learning. However, these same studies did not support some of the group alerting and accountability techniques, especially the notion of being unpredictable in calling on students to recite. The teachers who were more successful went around the group in order, seldom calling for volunteers and not allowing students to call out answers. Good and Grouws (1975) found that group alerting was positively related to student learning of fourth grade mathematics, but accountability was related curvilinearly: Teachers who used a moderate amount were more successful than those who had too much or too little. The reasons for these conflicting findings are unknown, but it is probable that Kounin's group alerting and accountability techniques are desirable in some contexts and undesirable in others. This should not be surprising, be-

cause the group alerting and the accountability techniques are mostly methods of forcing attentiveness through compulsion. Presumably, this should be necessary only when students are not attentive in the first place. Even then, positive approaches for eliciting attention, like building interest or stimulating curiosity, should be preferable to approaches that depend on threatening embarrassment or failure.

Research findings are also mixed concerning the value of choral responses. They do allow all of the members of the group to respond in an active way much more often than would be possible otherwise, and as Kounin notes, they do provide variety. However, unless the group is relatively small and the teacher is very attentive to each individual, a chorus of correct responses from a majority of the group can easily drown out mistakes and cover up failures to respond at all. This is especially a problem with students in the early grades, who seem to need individualized opportunities to respond and get feedback from the teacher (Anderson, et al., 1978).

Once again, the larger implication here seems to be that success in reaching certain important objectives, and not the methods used in doing so, is of primary importance. In this context, the important management objectives include eliciting and maintaining student attention, including times when students are supposed to watch and listen but not recite or make other overt responses. This is done primarily by making sure that the content of lessons is interesting and challenging to students and that the teacher is prepared well enough to conduct the lesson smoothly. This should be sufficient for most students. For the others, group alerting and accountability techniques may be required periodically.

In some of his studies (not all), Kounin noted that unnecessarily harsh

or disruptive teacher reaction to student misbehavior produced undesirable ripple effects on the rest of the students. They typically became distracted at these occasions, and often became noticeably more tense or anxious. In some cases, teacher overreactions to minor misbehavior even backfired, making it more likely that other students would soon engage in the same kind of misbehavior that led to the original outburst.

In contrast, brief, soft reprimands were more successful in that they were less disruptive and more likely to have positive ripple effects (decreasing the likelihood of similar misbehavior by other students). Similar results were reported by O'Leary, Kaufman, Kass, and Drabman (1970), who manipulated soft and loud reprimands experimentally. The general principle here is that teacher reprimands can be more disruptive than the student misbehavior that triggers them, so that such reprimands should be avoided when possible and minimized in length and intensity when they are given.

Despite the generally recognized importance of classroom management skills, the work of Kounin and his colleagues remains the only completed large scale program of research on the topic. Two other comprehensive studies are under way at the moment however, one dealing with the classroom organization and management behavior of third grade teachers as they begin and settle into the school year (Evertson & Anderson, 1978), and another dealing with the strategies that classroom teachers use in coping with students who are time-consuming or frustrating because of personal adjustment problems (Brophy, 1978).

VI. Behavior Analysis/Behavior Modification

Works on classroom management have borrowed heavily from general social learning theory. Its basic principles have been widely disseminated and al-

most universally accepted: Reward desirable behavior and extinguish (ignore), or if necessary punish, undesirable behavior. These principles and their derivatives originally were worked out by Skinner and other pioneers of behavior analysis, and they are basic to the more recent movements of applied behavior analysis and behavior modification.

O'Leary and O'Leary (1977) provide a representative and unusually clear example of the behavioristic approach to classroom management. The focus is on observable behavior, treated as a problem in its own right and not as a symptom of something else. Problem behavior is observed systematically to determine what situations and stimuli are eliciting it, and what subsequent stimuli are reinforcing it. The stress is on the evaluation of treatment procedures developed according to general principles, rather than on the analysis of specific types of misbehavior and of prescriptions for dealing with them. There has not been much behavioristic research of the latter type.

Treatment procedures are divided into two types, reflecting the two major problems facing the behavior modifier: increasing (desired) behaviors and decreasing (undesirable) behavior. Procedures for increasing behavior include praise and approval, modeling, token reinforcement programs, programmed instruction, self-specification of contingencies, self-reinforcement, establishment of clear rules and directions, and shaping. Procedures for decreasing behavior include extinction, reinforcing incompatible behaviors, self reprimands, time out from reinforcement, relaxation (for fears or anxiety), response cost (punishment by removal of reinforcers), medication, self instruc-

tion, and self evaluation (O'Leary & O'Leary, 1977). The breadth of this list indicates the practical "find out what works and use it" approach typical of modern behavior modifiers. The theoretical concepts and empirical orientation associated with this tradition remain, but the repertoire of techniques systematically applied and evaluated has been extended far beyond the original laboratory-based collection, and this trend continues as classroom applications accumulate.

There is a great deal of research on behavior analysis applications to the classroom, and most of this research is supportive, as far as it goes. The typical study involves four stages: (1) baseline documentation of the rates of problem behavior in a target student, (2) introduction of treatment procedures (typically followed by measurable improvement), (3) removal of treatment procedures during an extinction phase (in which the problem behavior typically reverts to baseline levels), and (4) reinstitution of treatment procedures (typically followed by a return of the improvements seen earlier). This design is persuasive because it yields powerful and convincing results. Comparisons of baseline and treatment phases provide empirical evidence of significant change in behavior, and the extinction and reinstitution phases make it possible to demonstrate that the observed changes in behavior are due to the specific treatment procedures used and not to changes in teacher or student expectations, special attention given to the student, or other Hawthorne effects. This empirical support has generated a great deal of interest in behavior modification approaches to classroom management, and a good deal of acceptance. Even so, few teachers are willing to commit themselves to this approach as a basic or exclusive method of managing the classroom. There are several reasons for this.

With respect to the principle of rewarding desirable behavior, the problem is partly philosophical. Behavioristic approaches are opposed by humanists and others who see them as mechanistic and manipulative. Instead of using animal training methods, they argue, we should develop students' intrinsic motivation through such methods as building novelty and interest into the curriculum, modeling enjoyment of learning and achievement motivation, and helping students to see and appreciate their own growth in knowledge and skills. Lately, this line of thinking has begun to acquire some empirical support. Deci (1976) and many others have shown that the introduction of extrinsic rewards for performance of a particular behavior reduces intrinsic motivation to perform that same behavior, so that sustained performance in the future becomes dependent upon extrinsic reinforcement.

This research is not as damaging to the behavioristic position as it may seem at first, as Deci himself has noted. For one thing, it concerns the introduction of extrinsic reinforcers when people are already performing desired behaviors. Behavior modifiers would not call for the introduction of additional reinforcers in situations like this (although they would infer that the people were being reinforced in some way rather than working on "intrinsic motivation," and would suggest a systematic analysis to identify the reinforcers in operation). Instead, they would call for the use of reinforcers where desired behavior does not presently exist (presumably for lack of sufficient motivation, intrinsic or otherwise). In weighing the appropriateness of potential reinforcers, they would be concerned primarily with their effectiveness in motivating and sustaining desired behavior, not with such distinctions as intrinsic vs. extrinsic or concrete vs. symbolic. As a practical matter, though, they would build into the treatment fading programs to re-

duce the required frequency and intensity of reinforcement, to switch from concrete or immediately consumable reinforcers toward more symbolic ones, and in general, to minimize the effort and expense involved in maintaining the desired behavior.

Eden (1975) has proposed a theory of motivation that helps explain why extrinsic reinforcement may be appropriate despite the findings of Deci (1975) and others. Eden (1975) postulates that, for a particular person in a given situation, certain motives are relevant but others are not, and that the motivational effects of behavioral consequences will depend upon the relevance of those consequences to the motives operating at the time. Thus, attention and praise from the teacher will be positively motivating for students who desire this and try to get it through careful work on their assignments, but not for students whose primary motivation in working on assignments is to finish them so that they can go to the science center and use the microscope.

So far, this is just a re-statement of the well-known fact that there are individual differences in attraction to particular potential reinforcers. However, Eden adds the interesting idea that reinforcers congruent with operating motivational systems will have a strong positive effect on net motivation, but that reinforcers not congruent with operating motivational systems will have a slight negative effect on net motivation. This theory nicely accommodates both the studies illustrating the effectiveness of extrinsic reinforcers and the studies indicating that presentation of extrinsic reinforcers when intrinsic motivation has been in effect will reduce intrinsic motivation. It also indicates why behavioristic approaches or other approaches that depend on extrinsic motivation can be appropriate when intrinsic motivation is not present. It does not resolve the philosophical issue, however. It is still

possible to argue, and many will, that the appropriate course of action in such situations is to build intrinsic motivation, not introduce extrinsic reinforcers.

Philosophical concern about the long term effects of behavior modification approaches is compounded by the fact that the otherwise impressive research on behavior modification in the classroom has been very weak on follow up evaluation. Few studies have tried to evaluate the success of behavioristic treatments in bringing about changes that would generalize to other settings and/or last over significant periods of time, and the results of these few have not been very encouraging (Emery & Marholin, 1977; Ciarizio & McCoy, 1976).

Furthermore, behavior modifiers themselves report problems with reinforcer satiation (Safer & Allen, 1976); over time, most reinforcers lose their appeal and thus their power to motivate behavior. This typically is not a problem in short-term case studies. They do not last long enough for the reinforcers to lose their attractiveness, and, ironically, the removal of reinforcers during the extinction phase probably enhances their reinforcing power when they are re-introduced later. Also, case studies deal with a specific individual, and reinforcers known to be effective with that individual can be prescribed. The problems of individual differences and satiation become formidable, however, when reinforcement approaches are attempted with entire classrooms.

No single reinforcer will be effective for all students, so a token economy must be set up, which includes a "menu" of reinforcers sufficiently varied to accommodate individual differences and combat satiation. Even so, problems of satiation typically require periodic infusion of new reinforcers

and "fine tuning" of the economy to make some reinforcers cheaper (thus more attractive) and others more expensive (to retard satiation). Even if such problems could be resolved, expense and bookkeeping demands would prohibit use of token economies in most classrooms.

Emery and Marholin (1977), writing within the tradition of applied behavior analysis, declare that such problems will never be resolved. They argue that, by definition, behavior analysis techniques apply to individuals, not groups. They also mention another reason why behavior modification studies have not been convincing, despite positive results: the target behaviors typically are trivial ones, selected because they are easy to identify and measure. A related point is that many studies have involved preschool or early elementary school children, who present less serious problems and are more responsive to reinforcement by the teacher than older students.

In a typical study, teacher praise, gold stars, or candy is used to shape such behaviors as raising the hand rather than calling out answers, volunteering rather than remaining passive during recitation, or remaining in the seat during work periods. Although convincing on their own terms, demonstrations that such reinforcers can be used to shape these relatively trivial behaviors in pliable young students are not very impressive to educators. Some behavior modifiers have recognized this and developed methods for shaping positive task involvement and other achievement-related behaviors, including methods that do not require elaborate token economies (c f. Spaulding, in press). So far, though, there is no convincing evidence of the effectiveness of behavioristic approaches for dealing with serious misbehavior of older students within the normal classroom setting.

The problem seems to be one of feasibility rather than principle. Behavior modification systems have worked effectively in such settings as detention homes and prisons, where neither the behaviors nor the individuals involved were easily controlled. However, the authorities in such institutions have access to very powerful reinforcers, and they control the inmates 24 hours a day. Teachers are much more limited in their access to reinforcers powerful enough to shape student behavior. Their potential influence is limited even at the kindergarten level, and it probably is reduced somewhat each year thereafter. In any case, the feasibility of behavior modification approaches for controlling student conduct is determined in part by the reinforcement options available to the teacher. There are many other practical questions dealing with the application of behavior modification principles, and these will be discussed in the following sections.

Reinforcement

According to behavioristic theory, a reinforcer is anything that will increase the frequency of a behavior when access to the reinforcer is made contingent upon performance of the behavior (Premack, 1965). This is a circular definition, but deliberately and necessarily so. Many instructive lists of potential rewards are available (c f. Clarizio & McCoy, 1976; Safer & Allen, 1976), composed of items or experiences likely to motivate many or even most students. None will motivate all students, however, and it is not possible to state in advance of actual use whether or not a proposed reinforcer will in fact shape behavior as expected. Some ostensible reinforcers may have no effects at all, and others may actually function as punishment for particular individuals. Hence the circular definition of reinforcement.

These considerations are mentioned by almost every writer dealing with classroom applications of behavior modification techniques, but they are easily forgotten when attention turns to application prescriptions. As a result, certain potential rewards, most notably teacher attention and praise and symbolic rewards, tend to be discussed as if they were universally rewarding. In fact, they are probably much less rewarding than commonly believed. Many students find special attention or recognition from the teacher to be embarrassing or threatening rather than rewarding. Even where it does function as a reinforcer, it is unlikely to be very powerful, because few students have strong emotional investment in their teachers, especially after the early primary grades.

Even where teachers do have the potential to reinforce students through their own personal actions, good intentions alone are not enough. Praise, for example, is unlikely to reinforce effectively unless it is (1) sincere (ideally, spontaneous), (2) adapted in form and intensity to the specific accomplishments in question (no gushing over trivia), (3) adapted to the preferences of the individual (some students cringe in response to public praise but appreciate sentiments expressed privately), and (4) specific in describing exactly what the student did that was praiseworthy (Good & Brophy, 1977, 1978; O'Leary & O'Leary, 1977).

Certain types of "praise" commonly given as examples of reinforcement in the classroom do not satisfy one or more of these criteria. One large class of examples involves praising students who are behaving appropriately while simultaneously trying to ignore others who are behaving inappropriately. This technique is often recommended because it seems to involve application of the reinforcement and extinction principles, and also seems to take advantage of the vicarious reinforcement principle (individuals observing others being reinforced for particular behavior are likely to behave that way themselves, in

hopes of being reinforced similarly). The problem is that this teacher behavior is almost never reinforcing. First, the praise involved is seldom really praise at all. It is not spontaneous, the target behaviors are not really praiseworthy (typically they involve being quiet or standing in line), and it is given by teachers and probably interpreted by students as an attempt to communicate control messages to misbehavers rather than as a sincere attempt to reinforce those who are behaving appropriately. Even when such praise is sincerely intended by the teacher, it is unlikely to succeed because it causes embarrassment, even humiliation, to the students singled out for attention.

Another common class of misguided reinforcement attempts involves praise or attention to inhibited or anxious students who hesitate to raise their hand or contribute to a discussion. It does seem important to try to make the experience as rewarding as possible when these students do contribute (such as by making them feel at ease, smiling, showing interest in and appreciation for their contribution, and integrating it into the discussion), but it does not seem wise to specifically call attention to the fact that they have decided to contribute (such as by praising this specifically or making well-meaning but unfortunate comments like "See, now that wasn't so hard, was it?"

Calling public attention to progress made by these types of students is likely to backfire by greatly increasing their anxiety and reducing their willingness to take risks in the future. In public, it is probably much more effective to shape their behavior using methods likely to elicit and condition desired responses (Blank, 1973), and confine reinforcement attempts to private interactions. With students for whom anxiety or inhibition interfere with learning, teachers can discuss the times and circumstances when the students will risk participation and find out what teacher behavior would be appropriate

when they do participate. After students try out new behavior, teachers can, in private, point out progress and note its effects, and can teach these students self-reinforcement techniques.

Unfortunately, the term "reinforcement" is widely taken to refer to clearly extrinsic reinforcers such as edible treats, free time, opportunities to play with desired toys, tokens or money, or social rewards such as teacher attention, praise, or symbols of success (e.g., stars). More attention needs to be given to questions of how tasks can be designed to make them more intrinsically rewarding for students (Krumboltz & Krumboltz, 1972). Recall that Kounin (1970) found that variety and challenge in seatwork assignments were important for keeping students actively engaged in such assignments over significant periods of time.

Helping students to set and meet personal goals also seems to be important in enabling them to obtain reinforcement from school activities. Rosswork (1977) found that the setting of goals, especially specific difficult goals, was more effective than monetary incentives in producing high levels of performance. It was also more effective than non-specific encouragement. More generally, although extrinsic incentives may be necessary when a task is not meaningful to students, goals and goal setting probably are more important than such incentives for meaningful tasks (Rosswork, 1977).

The importance of meeting personal goals also was stressed by the high school students studied by Ware (1978). Using a list of 15 potential rewards drawn up on the basis of previous pilot work with another group, high school students were asked to rank rewards for desirability and effectiveness. The students ranked the opportunity to reach a personal goal first, followed by: school scholarships; compliments and encouragement from friends; being accepted

as a person or having their opinions sought; trophies, certificates, medals, and ribbons; job-related physical rewards such as raises and vacations; special privileges or responsibilities; formal letters of recognition or appreciation; having their names printed in the newspapers or repeated on a loud speaker; teacher or employer compliments and encouragement; money for specific accomplishments; parties, picnics, trips, or banquets; election to office; being chosen to be on special programs; or being the winner in a contest. Thus, not only was personal goal attainment ranked first, but rewards such as peer esteem and symbolic recognition were ranked above teacher praise and several categories of concrete rewards.

Probably because of the emphasis on extrinsic rewards, teachers did not predict this. When asked to rank the same list, teachers placed reaching personal goals and winning school scholarships at the bottom, apparently believing that students would not be much interested in these potential rewards. Meanwhile, they overrated the desirability of getting names printed in the newspaper or repeated on a loud speaker, obtaining special privileges or responsibilities, and winning a contest. Interestingly, though, teachers ranked praise from a teacher or employer even lower than the students did. Thus, it appears that teachers are aware that their praise is not very reinforcing to most students even though it is stressed so widely.

These data from Ware's study are provocative. They require replication with elementary school students before they can be safely generalized to this population, but they do underscore a point that we wish to stress with respect to reinforcement: We do not know enough about what is reinforcing to students. Systematic research on the topic may reveal surprising additions to the usual lists of reinforcers, and surprising exceptions to and qualifications upon

some of our present assumptions.

Whatever the rewards used, it is important for teachers to make sure that they actually do function as reinforcers by motivating students to increase their rates of desired behavior. Praise or symbolic rewards like stars and smiling faces may be effective, but if not, other reinforcers will be needed. In addition to the commonly mentioned material rewards, these can include such things as opportunity to be first in the lunch line, opportunity to perform tasks that students enjoy performing, opportunity to make any kind of choice that the student considers to be important, extra opportunities to use the library, and a great many other things not often thought of as reinforcers for good conduct or good academic work.

Extinction

There is no philosophical opposition to the notion of eliminating problem behavior through extinction, but, as with the principle of reinforcement, there are problems of practical feasibility in trying to apply the principle in the classroom. Certain misbehaviors are too disruptive or dangerous to be ignored. Some students interpret lack of overt disapproval as approval, assuming that anything not explicitly disapproved is acceptable. More generally, it is contrary to common and expected practice to ignore open defiance, obscenities, or hostility directed specifically at the teacher. Such provocative behavior "demands" response. Attempts to ignore it will confuse students and leave them with the impression that the teacher is not consistently aware of what is going on, is completely unable to cope with it, or just doesn't care.

Even when effective, ignoring is never effective by itself; it must be coupled with reinforcement of desired behavior (O'Leary & O'Leary, 1977).

Used in combination, teacher reinforcement (attention and praise) and extinction (ignoring) can be effective, but only for those students and behaviors that are under the control of reinforcement from the teacher in the first place. Ignoring will have no effect on behaviors reinforced by peers, for example. Considering that relatively few problems of student misbehavior occur because the student is seeking reinforcement from the teacher, it is clear that ignoring is not often an appropriate teacher response even though it is recommended widely.

Tanner (1978) suggests four criteria for determining when ignoring is appropriate: (1) The problem is momentary, (2) it is not serious or dangerous, (3) drawing attention to it would disrupt the class, and (4) the student involved is usually well behaved. These criteria, along with the findings of Kounin (1970), leave little room for the systematic use of ignoring in an attempt to extinguish misbehavior that is nontrivial and persistent. Kounin's work suggests that some kind of comment or signal to the inattentive students is necessary whenever the problem seems likely to escalate.

There are possible negative consequences of ignoring to be considered, too. Students who don't realize that they are being ignored deliberately, or who do not know why they are being ignored, may keep redoubling their efforts to get attention by becoming more and more disruptive. Brief explanations to such students probably are much more effective than waiting for them to become conditioned through repeated frustration. A flat policy of ignoring cannot be used safely with persistent requests for permission or help, either. Students who always want to go to the toilet really do need to go at times, and the children who often ask for unnecessary help really do need help at times and will not be able to make any progress until they get it. Here again, teachers

who attack such problems in more positive ways are likely to be more successful than those who try to eliminate them through ignoring. (For example, the teacher can privately explain to such students about the behaviors of concern and their consequences for both teacher and student. Then, they can plan together how the students can determine on their own whether or not they actually need help.)

Punishment

Part of the over-emphasis on extinction or ignoring seems to have resulted from a desire to avoid recommending punishment. O'Leary and O'Leary (1977) and other behavior modifiers defend punishment as a useful and often appropriate technique, although they are careful to stress that its effectiveness is limited to inhibiting undesired behavior. Punishment is not useful for eliciting or shaping desired behavior, so that it should be used only as a last resort when more positive methods have failed, and only in connection with positive methods that will elicit desired behavior at the same time punishment is inhibiting undesired behavior.

Good and Brophy (1977,1978) argue against the use of physical punishment, strong personal condemnation, and the assignment of school work as punishment, and recommend that punishment be brief and mild, involve restitution where this is appropriate, and be designed to provide ways for offenders to reestablish normal status by making positive commitments or taking positive actions. O'Leary and O'Leary (1977) provide similar guidelines: Use punishment sparingly, make it clear to students why they are being punished, provide alternative means of getting positive reinforcement, reinforce incompatible behaviors in addition to punishing, and avoid physical punishment or punishing while in a very angry or emotional state. They recommend such punishments

as soft reprimands, reprimands coupled with praise or prompting for appropriate behavior, social isolation, and response cost.

As with reinforcement, it is easier to list problems to avoid than it is to be prescriptive in talking about punishment. Punishments must be defined circularly just as rewards are, because of important individual and situational differences. Presumed "punishments" often function as rewards (e.g., the student who misbehaves in hopes of getting suspended). There is no "response cost" if the presumed reinforcer taken away from the student was not desired in the first place. There is no punishment when teachers reprimand students who actually enjoy the experience because they enjoy needling the teacher or because they get peer reinforcement for having been "punished." On the other hand, events that appear trivial to adults can function as important punishments to students: being last in lunch line, being held up just long enough after school to miss going home with friends, sitting in one place rather than another.

Clearly, a functional analysis is needed to determine whether presumed punishments really are functioning as punishments by inhibiting undesired behavior. This, along with consideration of possible side effects of various punishments, needs to be taken into consideration in deciding whether particular punishments are appropriate. Even more fundamental is the notion that punishment is likely to be effective only when used as a last resort method within a larger problem-solving approach that stresses positive methods. In the classroom, and with humans generally, these considerations appear to be much more important than such matters as whether punishment is delivered during or after the behavior being punished.

Topics dealing with the timing and scheduling of punishment are often

addressed in theoretically-oriented behavioristic research, typically conducted with animals. As a result, behavoristically based sources of advice for teachers sometimes state that punishment will be more effective when it follows immediately after a transgression rather than when it is delayed, or that it will be more effective if it comes early in a sequence of undesired behavior rather than after completion of the sequence. Principles of this kind do seem to have some application for shaping animal behavior, but they are of doubtful relevance to the classroom, or to human learning generally. Here, punishment is a last resort method for curbing undesired behavior, not a basic method of shaping desired behavior. The child-rearing literature indicates very clearly that punishment-oriented approaches to socialization do not succeed (Brophy, 1977), and classroom research indicates that punishment works best with the students who need it the least (Kounin, 1970).

Where punishment is necessary, it seems to be most effective when it has the characteristics described earlier. These characteristics help students who are punished to recognize that they have brought punishment upon themselves through their own behavior, and that they will need to make a commitment to change if they wish to avoid punishment in the future. Concerning the timing of punishment, Redl (1966) contributes the interesting notion that teachers should wait for the optimal moment rather than try to punish as quickly as possible after the transgression, at least in situations where students are emotionally upset. The idea is that punishing students while they are aroused and angry may only increase their alienation, whereas waiting until they are calmed down enough to listen to input but still concerned about the problem might be much more effective.

Further reflection on this example leads back to the notion that punishment is at best only a partial solution. Teachers do not have sufficient con-

trol over students' lives to allow them to use punishment very effectively even if they wanted to, and the kind of control achieved in the laboratory through pinpoint scheduling and delivery of punishment is simply out of the question in the classroom. Instead, they must help students develop inner controls, using a combination of instruction, modeling, development of insight, environmental engineering, and psychotherapy. Punishment may be necessary to enforce limits, but by itself it will not shape desired behavior.

This point is common to most theories, well supported by the research, widely stated and emphasized in works on classroom management, and self evident to most people who hear it. Yet, surveys and interviews with school administrators and teachers regularly reveal an emphasis on negative and coercive methods rather than instruction and positive reinforcement (Shipman, 1968; DeFlaminis, 1975). Why should this be? Undoubtedly, some of it is artificial, resulting from the kinds of questions usually asked in such surveys (the respondent is to tell how to deal with flagrant misbehavior in the immediate situation, rather than to describe a general strategy for dealing with that type of problem student). Also, there is a general cultural lag in assimilating scientific knowledge (parents tend to be coercion-oriented in thinking about socializing their children, and the findings from school administrators and teachers can be taken as reflective of the culture at large rather than as unique to educators).

At least part of the coercion orientation of school administrators and teachers appears to be legitimate, however, and based on the fact that they face problems not typically encountered by parents, counselors, or therapists. Most teacher interactions with students occur in the classroom, where teachers must simultaneously concern themselves not only with the needs of a particular disturbed student, but the needs of 25 or 30 others.

This fact must be taken into account in trying to generalize principles derived from experience in one-to-one situations to the classroom. No matter how committed teachers may be to promoting the general mental health and happiness of their students, they often must subordinate long-run goals to short-term pressures. A certain amount of regimentation is required, and certain limits have to be established and enforced, if the class as a whole is to make reasonable academic progress. Much of the advice to teachers that is based on learning in the laboratory, socialization in the home, or treatment in the counselor's office does not take into account these aspects of the teacher's situation, and consequently is not very realistic.

In fact, many sources are overly idealistic, implying that teachers can and should act at all times like an individual psychotherapist. Effective teacher education will include guidelines for what kinds of regimentation and coercion are appropriate.

This should not be taken to mean that any forms of punishment are appropriate, however. Opposition to certain kinds of punishment is persistent and apparently well-founded. One of these is physical punishment. Many writers oppose it on philosophical grounds, and most others oppose it simply because it does not appear to be very effective. In fact, the literature on child development and socialization indicates that it is notably ineffective when used frequently (Brophy, 1977). Yet, many school administrators and teachers still use it, and many others want to retain the option of doing so, "just in case." These groups argue that it is sometimes necessary, and that even where it is not, the threat of it is useful in restraining serious problems. There is some evidence against these assertions, and none supporting them, but they persist as part of the lore of the schools. As long as they do persist, the

paddle can be expected to remain with us.

A less intensively debated but equally persistent issue is group vs. individual punishment. If the entire class or a subgroup of it is subject to punishment because of the misbehavior of an individual, the motivating power of individual punishment can be augmented by motivation from peer pressure. Some writers recommend this technique for use in extreme cases, because the peer pressure generated can be very powerful. Like physical punishment, however, this technique is very difficult to use effectively even if there are no ethical objections to it, and the undesired side effects are likely to outweigh any positive effects. For one thing, this technique forces students to choose between the teacher and one of their classmates. Many students will choose the classmate, uniting in sullen defiance of the teacher and refusing to blame the classmate if group punishment is applied. Even where students do go along with the teacher and pressure the classmate, the technique engenders hostility and resentment in the target student and perhaps unhealthy attitudes in the other students as well. The target student may become the class scapegoat or suffer verbal or even physical aggression from classmates.

Educationally oriented discussions of behavioristic approaches typically characterize the philosophy of behaviorism and the objections to it, define principles, and give familiar examples. We have touched only lightly on the philosophical issues, because they are well-known and require no repetition here. Further, instead of characterizing behavioristic approaches in ways that maximize the contrast between them and other approaches, we have concentrated upon classroom applications, especially upon what we believe to be serious practical problems in implementing the principles of reinforcement, extinction, and punishment. Although much more knowledge is needed, we be-

lieve that a great deal of information is presently available about how these principles can be implemented effectively in the classroom. Extended discussion and examples can be found in Brown, 1971; Clarizio and McCoy, 1976; Good and Brophy, 1977, 1978; Krumboltz and Krumboltz, 1972; and O'Leary and O'Leary, 1977.

Recent Innovations In Behavioristic Approaches

Early applications of behavior analysis based on laboratory results (often with animals) revealed a unique mixture of strengths and weaknesses. Strengths included the explicit theory and rich empirical tradition behind the recommended techniques, which made the approach much more systematic than the traditional "bag of tricks" approach, as well as a number of features that appealed to teachers and teacher educators. Even though certain highly specific techniques were used, a problem solving and empirical orientation remained dominant. If the techniques did not work, the standard procedure was to analyze the situation to find out the problem, and then adapt accordingly. This ideology probably helps teachers as much or more than specific techniques, because it aids them to remain calm and analytical and avoid becoming frustrated when notable progress does not occur quickly.

Behavioristic methods put the teacher in the role of impersonal helper rather than authority figure, and in general, the stress is on behavior and its consequences rather than on the personalities involved. Partial progress clearly is viewed as progress, not failure, and the record keeping routinely included in behavior analysis applications makes it likely that such progress will be noticed and recorded. In combination, the ideology and tools of this systematic approach can help teachers and students break vicious cycles of inappropriate action and reaction and move them toward problem solution.

Most of the problems with behavioristic methods have been mentioned already. Early applications leaned too heavily on laboratory techniques used with animals, so that there was an underappreciation of and sometimes a hostility toward verbal instruction and guidance. This probably was the main reason for the overblown stress on ignoring (extinction), for example. Another persistent problem is cost, in time and effort as well as money. Many reinforcers must be purchased, and consumables must be replenished periodically. Student time spent with reinforcers is time lost from studies, although behavior modifiers have argued effectively that this is offset by greater learning efficiency during the times that students in their programs are working on tasks. A great deal of teacher time and trouble is devoted to preparing the necessary props and setting up and maintaining a records system; for complex token economies this can require an extra person to do nothing other than help teachers keep records. Students who are alienated from and largely independent of adult authority are difficult to treat effectively with behavior modification approaches because teachers do not control enough reinforcers to effectively shape their behavior (although such students are not effectively handled by other techniques, either). This is not so much a problem in elementary schools as it is later, but it does occur.

Perhaps the greatest problem is the lack of convincing evidence that short term gains generalize to other settings and persist over time. The educational establishment might be willing to find ways to deal with the practical problems if behavior modifiers could produce convincing evidence of generalization and permanence of improvements produced with their methods, but so far this has not occurred, and the prevailing opinion is that such improvements tend to be situational and transitory. Several recent developments in behavior modi-

fication have addressed one or more of these problems.

One of these has been the token economy. According to O'Leary and O'Leary (1977), token reinforcement systems include: A set of instructions to the students about behaviors to be reinforced; a means of making potentially reinforcing stimuli (tokens) contingent upon student behavior; and a set of rules governing the exchange of these tokens for backup reinforcers. The reinforcers can be candy, comic books, educational toys or other prizes, or access to free time, recess, or special privileges.

Token systems have many advantages over systems involving presentation of the actual rewards immediately upon completion of the contingent behavior. First, they allow for individual differences in response to various reinforcers and for satiation on particular reinforcers, and they allow students to exercise some choice over how to spend their accumulated points. The system may involve some physical token given to the student and later exchanged for backup reinforcers, although the same effect can be accomplished by making check marks or other symbols in a notebook, punching holes in a card carried by the student, or any of several other ways that allow for orderly record keeping.

Presentation of the token or other symbolic reward allows the teacher to immediately reinforce work or behavior that meets specified criteria, but without necessarily stopping instructional activities to present backup reinforcers immediately. This is believed to be good for students because it accustoms them to working for symbolic rewards and delaying gratification, and it benefits teachers by enabling them to schedule work times and reinforcement times in more systematic and orderly ways. Token systems have been used successfully in hospitals and other treatment institutions, and occasionally in ordinary classrooms (Thompson, 1974; Safer & Allen, 1976). There are two primary ob-

jections to them, one philosophical and one practical.

Many object to token systems on the grounds that they bribe students to learn. O'Leary and O'Leary (1977) note that "bribe" has a variety of meanings, some of which apply and some do not. The term clearly does not apply with the connotation of attempting to influence people for dishonest or illegal purposes. It is true, however, that token systems fit another definition of bribery, the dispensing of gifts to influence people's judgments or behaviors. People who strongly object to this on principle will not want to use token reinforcement systems. The issue of bribery is discussed in detail by O'Leary, Poulos, and Devine (1971).

The practical objection to token systems is time and trouble. Safer and Allen (1976) cite several references supporting token economies in the classroom and recommend the technique themselves, but they include the following as minimum requirements: Teacher training seminars during the summer, special teacher assistants available for 60-90 minutes a day to help with paperwork; backup consultation of about a half an hour a week per teacher to see that the program is evaluated properly, and installation and maintenance of reinforcement areas. The record-keeping demands remain heavy even after the program is launched, because points are accumulated and spent continuously and because the economy must be adjusted periodically to prevent students from accumulating "wealth" that enables them to become independent of the motivational functions of the system. Safer and Allen argue that token economies are cost effective if the expected improvements in student achievement and conduct are taken into account, but few will agree with this assessment.

Another technique that has seen much recent development and dissemination is contingency contracting. This technique also allows teachers to individual-

ize arrangements with separate students, and it is more practical because it places more emphasis on student responsibilities and less on one-to-one relationships between specific accomplishments and reinforcement. This makes it less powerful as a behavior modification technique, but one that is well suited to normal classes and students (without too many serious behavior problems).

Contracts typically specify the work expected of the student during a day or a week, but leave it up to the student when and how the work should be accomplished. Contracts can also specify conduct improvements instead of or in addition to work expectations. The degree to which contract systems function as behavior modification devices depends mostly on the consequences established for success or failure in honoring the contract. To the extent that reinforcers are powerful and the contracts deal with specific behaviors to be accomplished during short time periods, contracting systems become modifications of token economy systems. To the extent that the contracts deal with longer periods of time, such as a week, and do not involve strong emphasis on reinforcers, they are more similar to traditional management systems than to typical behavior modification systems. Many teachers who do not favor other aspects of behavior modification do employ contract systems, because: (1) they provide ways to give students some responsibility and independence in managing their time at school; (2) the formal inclusion of certain responsibilities in contracts helps to underscore their importance and reminds the students of them; (3) contracts can provide some needed structure for students who are distractible. In fact, many teachers use contracts mostly just for these students, confining them initially to short time periods and short lists of tasks and displaying them prominently on or near the students' desk, where they can be

referred to for reminders or instruction.

If handled properly, contracts can also be very useful in dealing with students who are poorly motivated or resistant to school work or the teacher. With these students, teachers can include a period of negotiation prior to the finalizing of contracts, in which students will be given the opportunity to make suggestions and to state whether or not they think the demands are fair and reasonable. Assuming that agreement is reached, such students are probably more likely to keep these contracts than they would be to keep less formalized agreements in which they were involved only as passive receivers of orders. There are more benefits later when the consequences mentioned in the contract come about, because the negotiation process and the contract itself make it likely that students will attribute consequences to their own behavior rather than begin to rationalize or project inappropriate motives to the teacher.

Contracting involves elements of self control, self management, and self instruction, all of which are elements of recent developments included in cognitive behavior modification (Meichenbaum, 1977). This has been a movement by a new generation of behavior modifiers working within the general tradition but shifting emphasis away from concepts and methods more appropriate to animal research or specialized applications with severely disordered and institutionalized humans, and toward concepts and methods appropriate for mostly normal and healthy humans in natural settings, especially schools. Included in this movement are the recognition that attention must be paid to cognition (thinking and subjective experience generally) in addition to behavior when dealing with humans, and a shift in emphasis from controlling behavior mostly through conditioning using extrinsic reinforcers, to controlling behavior

mostly through rational goal setting, planning, and self instruction. Much has been borrowed from cognitive learning theory and from various humanistic, existential, and even psychodynamic approaches to psychotherapy. The new techniques developed from this rapprochment seem to be especially valuable to teachers, both because they seem more practical and because they are largely free of the artificial and often philosophically objectionable elements of external manipulation that have plagued behavioristic approaches in the past. Many of the techniques are adaptations of methods originally used with disordered individuals in clinical settings, but they are appropriate for teachers working with ordinary students.

One technique, popularized by Meichenbaum and others, combines modeling with verbalized self instructions. Although modeling is widely recognized as a powerful tool, early behavioristic applications of it were limited in effectiveness because the models confined themselves to physical demonstrations of behavior without verbalizations. This is not well suited to classrooms, where there is much more emphasis on thinking than on behavior (typically, the major problems facing students are understanding questions and reasoning through to answers, not verbalizing or writing the answers once they are known). One way that models can talk, of course, is to demonstrate and lecture. This becomes indistinguishable with teaching, as it is usually understood. Meichenbaum and others have stressed a different kind of verbalization in connection with modeling: Self instructions. Instead of trying to explain what they are doing (the way that teachers usually would explain), models go through the processes involved while verbalizing aloud their thoughts and especially their instructions to themselves. They "tell themselves what to do" and then do it. Exposure to this kind of modeling has proved effective

in teaching students to respond to cognitive tasks thoughtfully and analytically rather than impulsively (Meichenbaum & Goodman, 1971). There appear to be a great many other applications of this method, including teaching behavioral self control in addition to more cognitive problem solving strategies.

Even without such modeling, self instructional training has been used for a variety of purposes applicable to the classroom, often in combination with desensitization or relaxation procedures borrowed from clinical practice. Robin, Schneider, and Dolnick (1976) have developed the "turtle" technique that teachers can teach to children to help them control their aggressive impulses. The technique is named for the "turtle position," which involves head on desk, eyes closed, and fists clenched. Impulsive and aggressive children are taught to assume this position when upset. This gives them an immediate response to use in these situations, and buys time that enables them to delay inappropriate behavior and think about constructive solutions to the problem. It also helps them to gradually relax while they think about alternatives. The "turtle position" actually is not essential; training children to delay impulsive responding in favor of relaxing and thinking about constructive alternatives is the key to success. However, it provides a gimmick that many children find enjoyable, and it also may serve as a sort of crutch to certain children who might not be able to delay successfully if not given some kind of prescription about what exactly to do when angry.

De-sensitizing and/or relaxation treatments have been used successfully with children who have strong fears or anxieties. These are often combined with self-instructional elements as well, to provide the children with prescriptions for active response when upset in addition to training in emotional control.

Many recent applications of behavior modification are designed to help students cope more effectively through better self-control. Typically, these approaches involve one or more of four aspects of self-control (Glynn, Thomas, & Shee, 1973; McLaughlin, 1976): (1) self assessment (student evaluates own performance relative to goals or expectations); (2) self-recording (student keeps record of own relevant behaviors); (3) self-determination of reinforcement (student establishes own contingencies between own behaviors and type and amounts of reinforcement; (4) self-administration of reinforcement (student reinforces self upon performing contracted behaviors). These methods appear to be no more effective than methods relying on externally imposed control (McLaughlin, 1976), but they will be more acceptable to many who object to external control methods on philosophical grounds.

Self reinforcement is often included as part of self instructional training, especially for students who are deficient in achievement motivation or who make inappropriate attributions concerning the reasons for their own success. These programs call the students' attention to their specific accomplishments and get them to verbalize statements of satisfaction and praise to themselves for having achieved goals. This helps them to see and take pride in their own accomplishments, recognizing progress and attributing it to their own efforts rather than to luck, to the teacher, or other external factors. Similar self reinforcement can be used with students who have trouble controlling their behavior or keeping classroom rules. They can be taught to recognize and reinforce themselves for progress in this area, and there is reason to believe that such self reinforcement assists them in learning to spontaneously behave appropriately.

Many of these self-instructional approaches also feature self monitoring and self evaluation. This is one of the advantages of contract systems with

young students, as mentioned earlier. Regardless of whether contracts are used, however, teachers can help students to learn to monitor and evaluate their own activities by using checklists, scoring keys, periodic progress reports, or other devices that cause them to systematically assess what they have and have not accomplished with respect to school work or classroom behavior goals. These techniques appear to have several important advantages and no disadvantages other than the relatively minor time investment involved: They place the responsibility on the students for monitoring and managing their own behavior, but in ways that are likely to be informative and attractive to them; they place the teacher in the role of helper and advisor rather than authority figure; and they act as consciousness-raising devices to help make students more aware of themselves and their behavior, and more likely to bring it under conscious cognitive control. These advantages seem especially important for teachers working with young students, particularly those who are hyperactive or impulsive.

Finally, in addition to the many applications for reducing undesired behavior, behavior modification approaches have been used to train students to behave in ways that teachers value and/or that will help them to succeed at school. This includes training in "academic survival skills" such as attending, following directions, and volunteering to answer questions (Cobb & Hops, 1973), as well as training in prosocial personal skills such as initiating interactions, helping, and sharing (Cartledge & Milburn, 1978).

As applications of cognitive behavior modification continue, more and more of them are likely to prove appropriate and valuable for teachers working in ordinary classrooms. Many techniques are easy to learn and can be applied by the average teacher without any outside help, and others require

only minor consultation from a school psychologist or other resource person. In general, cognitive behavior modification appears to be a likely source of fruitful innovations in classroom management and related areas in the coming years.

VII. Counseling and Psychotherapy Techniques

Personality theory and techniques of counseling and psychotherapy are natural sources to draw upon in developing methods for classroom teachers to use in dealing with problem students. As with behavioristic approaches, however, early attempts at application were not very successful. Most techniques of psychoanlysis and other early forms of intensive individual psychotherapy were not suitable for use with children, and they could not be used by teachers busy dealing with an entire class, not just one individual at a time. Also, most of the student problems that teachers face are more situational and behavioral than the neurotic disturbances of primary interest to psychoanalysts. Even when psychoanalytic explanations do seem pertinent (as when a child appears to be disturbed by the household changes brought about by the birth of a new sibling), they seldom point teachers to specific remedial treatments that they can implement in the classroom. The same is true for the use of personality inventories and other measurement devices such as sociometric interviews or projective tests.

As counseling and psychotherapy became more diversified, new techniques began to appear that were more situational and behavioral, more limited but also more specific in intent, and more immediate in their effects. Many of these techniques can be used effectively by classroom teachers.

Dreikurs

The writings of Rudolf Dreikurs (1968), while still psychoanalytic (Adlerian), are intended explicitly for teachers and are much more applicable in the classroom than earlier psychoanalytic adaptations. Predictably, Dreikurs stresses the importance of early family dynamics for understanding children, tracing problems to such sources as parental over-ambition or over-protectiveness and sibling relationships that make certain children feel discouraged or inadequate. Dreikurs sees children as reacting to these central themes in their lives, compensating for feelings of inferiority by developing a style of life designed to protect self esteem and avoid danger areas. He believes that when children have not worked out a satisfactory personal adjustment and place in the group at school, they will show symptomatic behavior seeking after one of four goals (listed in increasing order of disturbance): attention, power, revenge, or display of inferiority (to get special service or attention).

The first step for teachers in dealing with these kinds of problems is to analyze the child's behavior and determine what goals are being pursued. For example, attention seekers will be disruptive and provocative, but they will not openly defy or challenge like the power seekers, who in turn will not deliberately seek to hurt or torment, like the revenge seekers. Turning to a different kind of behavior, persistent dependency and help seeking will differ in quality and purpose depending upon whether it is seen in students who merely want attention or students who have given up attempts to cope and have opted to display inferiority and helplessness. Dreikurs stresses that important clues to the goals sought by individual children lie in the teacher's emotions and response tendencies. Where the teacher feels a need to assert power and

authority, the student probably is provoking a power struggle, and where the teacher feels hurt, angry, and oriented toward getting revenge, the child probably is a revenge seeker. An important key to responding to these student provocations is to recognize that they stem from discouragement and that responding the way the student expects will only deepen the problem.

Dreikurs advises teachers to observe problem students and diagnose the meaning of their behavior, and then to explain all of this to the students (not in the midst of misbehavior, but later, in quiet discussion). The teacher should stress making students understand the goals of their own problem behavior, rather than probing for or speculating about presumed causes. If the teacher is not sure about the goals, it can be helpful to speculate about them and see if this strikes a responsive note in the child. The rationale for these discussions is that they will provide the children with insight into their own behavior, and in the process eliminate the need to continue that behavior in seeking the goal in question.

Other points stressed by Dreikurs include "winning" children by establishing friendly and sincere relationships with them (this involves both firmness and kindness), encouraging those who are discouraged about their abilities (this must be sincere encouragement based on genuine belief in the child's potential), maintaining a mature, adult posture when dealing with the child, so as to avoid being drawn into unhealthy psychological conflicts, and using the group to help mold the behavior of individuals. The latter includes building a democratic classroom atmosphere, unifying the class, and using class discussions to help children learn to listen, understand themselves and one another better, and help one another.

Dreikurs opposes artificial punishment, but stresses the value of allow-

ing natural consequences of maladaptive behavior to occur. The linkage between the maladaptive behavior and the unwanted consequences is stressed to the child as part of a more general attempt to develop insight and build a willingness to abandon self-defeating goals and make commitments to more productive ones. These general principles, as well as many specific techniques, are illustrated in the many case studies included in Dreikurs' writings.

No systematic data are available to use in evaluating Dreikurs' ideas, but they do seem to have face validity (with the possible exception of routinely interpreting the "hidden meanings" of behavior to students). They also complement ideas drawn from other approaches (discussed below).

Life Space Interviews

The concept of a life space interview was originally developed by Redl (1959), another psychoanalytic writer. He used the term to distinguish this kind of interview from the depth interviewing that goes on as part of individual psychotherapy. Originally it referred to interviews with children who were in therapy that were conducted by their teachers or other individuals who were not the therapist. These interviews were triggered by specific episodes of serious disturbance or misbehavior, and were concentrated upon understanding and problem solving with respect to the incident in question. Over time, as the concept was elaborated by Morse (1971) and others, it lost its association with psychotherapy and other treatment techniques in special settings and began to be used to refer to crisis intervention in the classroom generally.

As described by Morse (1971), the goal of a life space interview is to foster adjustment and obtain a degree of behavioral compliance by providing

life space relief (improving the life conditions of the student, especially those in the classroom). The need for such an interview might occur to a teacher under almost any circumstances, but incidents of defiance or serious misbehavior often provide the impetus. The teacher begins by talking to students privately, trying to obtain their perceptions of the incident and the events that led up to it. This provides an opportunity for students to experience catharsis and ventilation, and for teachers to express interest and a desire to help, as well as to establish a close relationship generally. The key at this stage is active and empathic listening geared to bring about understanding, but not judgment, of the student.

As the interview proceeds, the teacher seeks to obtain both an accurate and detailed description of what happened and an indication of the meaning of the event to the student. Different students may be upset about very different aspects of events that seem similar at first (for example, one may be concerned primarily about being picked on by peers and unconcerned about the teacher, while another might be upset mostly about being blamed by the teacher). There are isolated incidents, but events that cause students to lose control often are related to a particular vulnerability or concern (humiliation before the peer group, jealousy of a specific peer, sensitivity about appearance). The teacher tries to communicate acceptance of the feelings that the student conveys, without necessarily accepting the actions taken. Doing this well requires traits like empathy, non-defensiveness, and self assurance. When faced with defensiveness on the part of the student, the teacher responds by dealing with the feeling behind the defense rather than counter attacking the defense itself. Value judgments are withheld until a complete understanding is achieved and communicated.

Once this is accomplished, the discussion can move toward deciding what must be done. This involves analysis of the whole situation to try to identify places where relief can be provided or changes can be made. The teacher offers to work together with the student to find ways to prevent repetition of the problem. The teacher will have to explain any realistic limits on what is possible or allowable, but otherwise the two should plan together. How can the problems that led up to the incident be eliminated or reduced? What will happen if there is a repetition of the incident? What should the student do if similar pressures arise in the future and threaten to become overwhelming? Discussion on these questions continues until specific plans are developed that leave the student with clarity about what can be expected in the future, and ideally, with a feeling of support from the teacher in dealing with the problems. The teacher does this while avoiding moralizing and empty threats, confining discussion of consequences to those that are seriously intended in the future if there should be a repetition of the behavior.

Within this general model, teachers provide additional help that particular students may need. This includes: (1) helping them to see and accept reality and abandon some of their defensive distortions; (2) showing them specifically how their inappropriate behavior is self defeating; (3) clarifying values; (4) where necessary, suggesting tools or crutches that will help them deal with problems in more effective ways than the ones they use now; (5) helping students to think for themselves and avoid being led into trouble by others; (6) helping to drain off anger by expressing sympathy and understanding; (7) helping them deal with emotions like panic, rage, or guilt following emotional explosions; (8) maintaining open communication; (9) providing rule reminders and friendly warnings about likely negative consequences if behavior doesn't change; and (10) helping to clarify thinking and facilitate

decision making.

The major features of life space interviewing are representative of the advice to be found in works on classroom management that stress developing a good relationship with problem students and working through it to gain their compliance as well as help them with their general adjustment. Good and Brophy (1977, 1978), for example, give very similar advice in providing general guidelines for problem solving, and then go on to suggest specific techniques for use with particular kinds of problem students. Other variations of this general approach are described below. They suggest private problem solving conferences with such students, during which teachers first summarize their view of the problem, noting both objective facts and their own subjective reactions, and then invite the students to present their view. The emphasis is on fully understanding the student's view through careful listening and questioning to gain clarification (but not to raise objections).

Once both views have been expressed, a degree of catharsis will have occurred, the problem will be defined more accurately, and discussion can turn to the search for solutions acceptable to all concerned. Ideally, teacher and student work together in this regard, making suggestions about improvements and committing themselves to meaningful changes.

The suggestions of Good and Brophy are similar to the ideas involved in life space interviewing. Other variations on similar themes are described in subsequent sections.

Glasser and Reality Therapy

In suggesting applications of what he calls "reality therapy" to the classroom, Glasser provides guidelines both for general classroom management

and for problem solving with individual students. He has a wide following among teachers, and survey data indicate that systematic implementation of his program has been associated with reductions in referrals to the office, fighting, and suspensions (Glasser, 1977). More rigorous tests of his methods are not available (nor are they for other approaches described in this section).

The title of the book Schools Without Failure (1969) illustrates Glasser's interest in creating a facilitative atmosphere in the school at large, not just a facilitative teacher-student relationship. He stresses that schools and classrooms be as humanistic as possible: cheerful and courteous, communal, open to student input and to communication generally, and staffed by administrators and teachers who believe that students are capable of exercising responsibility and are prepared to allow them to do so.

Glasser advocates that classroom rules be established jointly by teachers and students during classroom meetings, and that additional meetings be held as needs arise in order to adjust the rules, develop new ones to handle new situations, or deal with problems that have come up. He recommends that teachers adopt the role of discussion leader and group member but not authority figure in these discussions, setting limits only with respect to what is possible within the law and the rules of the school. Decisions are to be made by vote rather than by negotiation between the teacher and the students. This part of Glasser's approach is not as well-accepted as his problem solving steps, because many teachers oppose this student self-government approach on principle and many others find it overly cumbersome and time consuming. Also, ethical questions may be involved if class meetings single out individuals for strong criticism from the group, or if confidential material is made public without permission.

Glasser's 10-step approach to dealing with problem students does not require use of his classroom management approach to rule setting, although Glasser himself stresses the importance of that approach and in any case insists that rules must be recognized by everyone as reasonable and beneficial if they are to be effective. Glasser described his approach to discipline as no-nonsense, but also as constructive and non-punitive. It involves making clear to students that they can and must control themselves, and follow school rules, if they expect to stay in school. Teachers are expected to take a personal interest in their students and be as friendly and helpful as they can, but also to spell out this rule clearly and enforce it if necessary. There are to be no exceptions or consideration other than those built into the system.

The first of Glasser's 10 steps in the process of working with students who are discipline problems is for the teacher to select a student for concentrated attention and list typical reactions to the student's disruptive behavior. The next step is to analyze the list and see what techniques do and do not work, resolving not to repeat the techniques that do not work. The third step is the improvement of personal relationships with the student. To do this, Glasser recommends that teachers provide extra encouragement, ask the student to perform special errands, or make other initiatives to show concern about the student and imply that things are going to improve.

This continues until the problem behavior reappears, and a new approach is taken at the fourth step. Instead of repeating past mistakes, the teacher simply asks the student to describe what he or she is doing. This causes students to analyze their own behavior, perhaps for the first time, and to begin to see their own responsibility for it, although they may try to rationalize.

In any case, once students describe their own behavior accurately in response to teacher questions the teacher simply asks them to stop it.

The next step is used if the problem persists. Here, the teacher will call a short conference and again ask the student to describe the behavior, and also to state whether or not it is against the rules or recognized informal expectations. The teacher also asks the students what they should be doing instead of what they have been doing. All this is done in a warm and supportive way, but at the same time with persistent firmness that causes students both to express the inappropriateness of their own behavior and to describe what they should be doing instead.

If this does not work, the sixth step involves calling conferences and getting students to focus on their misbehavior but then announcing that a plan is needed to solve the problem. The plan must be more than a simple agreement to stop misbehaving because this has not been honored in the past. The plan can be short term, specific, and simple, but it should state positive actions that the student will take to eliminate the problem.

If the sixth step has not worked, Glasser believes that it is time to isolate the students or use time-out procedures. During their periods of isolation, these students will be charged with devising their own plans for insuring that they follow the rules in the future. Isolation will continue until the student has devised such a plan, gotten it approved by the teacher, and made a commitment to follow it.

If this doesn't work, the next step is inschool suspension. This is announced to the student firmly but matter-of-factly. Suspended students will now have to deal with the principal or someone else other than the teacher, but this other person will repeat earlier steps in the sequence and press

them to come up with a plan that is acceptable. It is made clear to such students that they will either return to class and follow the reasonable rules in effect there or continue to be isolated outside of class. Glasser recommends that parents be notified about inschool suspension if it continues beyond a single day, but that it should continue for as long as is necessary to get an acceptable plan and credible commitment from the student.

The ninth step applies only to students who remain out of control in in-school suspension. Glasser recommends calling their parents to take them home, and then starting over with them the next day. The last step is removal from school and referral to another agency for students who do not respond to the previous steps. Even here, Glasser recommends welcoming such students back to the school if they do make specific plans and a credible commitment later.

Glasser's 10-step approach is attractive to a great many teachers because it clearly is applicable in the classroom and because it provides a sequence of specific steps they can take with problems that have not responded to normal methods. It also illustrates several features common across several approaches, including behavioristic ones, that seem to be converging. One is the emphasis on students' behavior, specifically their behavior in school, regardless of their personal histories, racial or ethnic heritage, cultural mores, or other factors that might "explain" their behavior. There is increasing convergence on the notion that all students must follow reasonable rules.

A related notion is that students are individually responsible for their own behavior and will be held to that responsibility. Teachers will do whatever they can to help students solve their problems, but the students own these problems, not the teachers. This can be seen as a hard line, but it

should be noted that it is predicated on the explicit assumption that the rules are in fact reasonable and fairly administered, and that teachers do in fact try to be helpful, cooperate with students in making feasible adjustments, and, in general maintain a positive, problem-solving stance.

Where these assumptions do not hold, Glasser's methods, like any others, can be used destructively. The result can be an atmosphere in which an authoritarian teacher concentrates more on building a case against problem students than on trying to help them, contrary to Glasser's philosophy.

Gordon and Teacher Effectiveness Training

Glasser's ideas were widely disseminated and adopted in the late 1960's and early 1970's. They are familiar to most teachers today and have been assimilated by many of them, and interest in reality therapy workshops remains high. The same is true for workshops on behavior modification approaches. However, the approach undergoing the most vigorous dissemination today is Thomas Gordon's (1974) Teacher Effectiveness Training (TET).

Gordon's philosophy stresses freedom and responsibility, and abandonment of power and authority in favor of negotiation of "no lose" arrangements. He advises teachers to be open and caring toward their students, but also to maintain their individuality or separateness. He urges minimizing authoritative control over students, replacing this with stress on teacher-student interdependence and the importance of mutual meeting of needs.

Problem solving starts with identification of problem ownership. Some problems are owned strictly by teachers, some strictly by students, and others by both teacher and students. Solution to problems is facilitated if all parties involved recognize problem ownership accurately and respond accordingly.

The ideal solution is one that will eliminate problems altogether, so that neither teachers nor students have them.

One way to eliminate problems is to modify the classroom environment. This can be done for the class as a whole by adding to or subtracting from what it includes or by changing the physical arrangement. It also can be done for individuals by devising ways for those who require it to get individual time for quiet activities or even sleep, to have more access to active and stimulating activities, to have more opportunities for one-to-one relationships with the teacher, and so on.

Student-owned problems include such things as anxiety, inhibition, or poor self concept. For these problems, Gordon recommends passive listening, acknowledgements of having heard and understood what students say, door openers (invitations for students to talk), and especially, active listening. Active listening goes beyond simply paying attention and showing that you understand, by providing feedback to students that responds to the underlying meanings of their messages rather than the external ones. It requires acceptance of student feelings, confidence in their abilities to come up with solutions on their own, patience, respect for privacy and confidentiality, and willingness to make oneself available to students for extended private conferences.

In short, Gordon recommends an updated form of Rogerian counseling for such students, and he rejects as ineffective responses that contain what he calls "the language of unacceptance." This is any response to the students' expressed fears or anxieties that does not take them seriously. This obviously includes flat contradictions or scoffing, but it also includes well meaning attempts to cheer students up by praising them or distracting their attention

to something else.

Gordon recommends active listening as an instructional technique to be used during class discussions as well as a management technique to use with individuals. He also recommends it for helping students to de-escalate their feelings before getting down to work when something upsetting has happened, and describes its uses in parent-teacher conferences with or without the presence of the student. He believes that active listening helps teachers to help students, not by trying to assume responsibility for their problems, but by helping them to find their own solutions and become more independent, confident, and self reliant.

Problems owned by teachers are those that occur when students persistently behave in ways that make the teachers frustrated or angry. This requires a different set of techniques from those used by teachers when students own the problem. There, it was important for the students to do the communicating and for the teacher to be a listener and counselor. When the teacher owns the problem, however, the teacher does the communicating, sending messages to students and trying to influence them to change. It is the teacher who wants help, and the teacher that must get needs met through the solution. This will mean changing the students' behavior, the environment, or a combination.

Gordon lists a number of ineffective techniques for trying to change students. These include confrontations that backfire, "solution" messages that students resent and that induce only dependent and artificial compliance even when they do "work," put down messages that breed resentment without bringing about constructive change, and indirect messages (sarcasm, diversions) that may be misunderstood by the students and may hurt the teacher's credibility. Gordon notes that most of these ineffective messages are "you" messages, when the situation calls for "I" messages. Again, it is the teacher who owns

the problem and thus the teacher who must do the communicating. "I" messages reveal feelings and vulnerabilities, but in ways that pay off by fostering intimacy and describing the problem without imputing unfortunate motives to the student.

"I" messages have three major parts. The first part indicates the specific behavior that leads to the problem ("When I got interrupted. . ."). The second specifies the effect on the teacher in concrete and tangible ways ("I have to start over and repeat things unnecessarily."). This part shows students that their behavior is causing the teacher real problems, and this message alone will be sufficient to motivate most students to want to change. The third part of the message specifies the feelings generated within the teacher because of the problem (". . . and I become frustrated because the lesson does not flow the way that it should."). Taken together, these three parts link specific student behavior as the cause to a specific effect on the teacher which in turn leads to undesirable feelings on the part of the teacher.

Gordon states that anger ordinarily should not be part of an "I" message because it is usually a secondary feeling that follows an earlier one (frustration, hurt, or rejection) that should be communicated. He sees anger messages as frequently being attempts to punish rather than to communicate honestly, and notes that honest communication can be difficult for both teacher and student. The risks for teachers include self disclosure, the possibility of having to modify their own behavior, and assumption of responsibility for owning the problem. For students, exposure to such communications may often induce hurt, embarrassment, anger, or emotions indicating that now the student has a problem, as well. This will require the teacher to shift gears from active communication about the teacher's problem to active listening about the student's problem.

Gordon maintains that combinations of environmental manipulation, active listening and communication through "I" messages will handle most problems. However, sometimes the needs motivating unacceptable student behavior will be very strong or the relationship with the teacher will be very poor, and conflict will continue. Genuine conflict involves problems owned by both students and teachers, and it must be approached in ways that avoid winning or losing and that satisfactorily meet the needs of all parties involved. His recommended "no lose" method is a process of searching for possible solutions until one is found that will work best for all concerned.

Prerequisites for the use of the method include active listening (students must believe that their needs will be understood and accepted if they are to be expected to risk serious negotiation), the use of good "I" messages to state teacher needs clearly and honestly, and communication to students that this is a new and different approach (for teachers who have not been using it regularly). There are six steps: (1) Define the problem; (2) generate possible solutions; (3) evaluate these solutions; (4) decide which is best; (5) determine how to implement the decision; (6) and assess how well the solution is in fact solving the problem.

Defining the problem properly includes accuracy about ownership and identification of only those people who are really part of the problem. The definition process should continue until everyone is agreed. For this purpose, it is important that the problem be described in terms of conflicting needs, not competing solutions.

When generating solutions, it is important to simply list them and not try to evaluate them prematurely. Once evaluation starts, solutions that are objectionable to anyone for any reason should be eliminated. Deciding which

solution is best involves persistent search for consensus rather than resorting to voting. Proposed solutions can be tested by imagining the consequences (this gives students important opportunities to learn to predict short and long range consequences of proposed activities for themselves and others, something that probably is of value in its own right). When agreement is reached, specific plans and responsibilities for implementation can be drawn up, and there should be follow through with assessment later. The result should be a "no lose" agreement that everyone explicitly states satisfaction with and readiness to honor.

Not all agreements are honored, however. Agreements may be broken when students: (1) didn't perceive the conflict in the first place, seeing only the teacher's problem; (2) didn't feel that their needs were heard and understood by the teacher (this can happen even when the solution meets their needs); or (3) agreed to the solution because of peer or teacher pressure. Gordon warns teachers against using power when students break agreements. Instead, he suggests that they send strong "I" messages to communicate disappointment to the students and to indicate that now they share a new problem. Ordinarily this will yield an explanation from the students, and the teacher then can respond by giving another chance, devising ways to help students remember their commitments, or returning to the problem-solving process to seek a new solution. The teacher will have to restrict alternatives to those that the teacher and class have the authority to implement, however. It will not be possible to make agreements that are against school rules or laws. Teachers are also urged to reject proposed student solutions that involve punishment, explaining that the method is to seek positive solutions and avoid punishment.

Gordon clearly does not like the idea of sanctioning power assertion by

teachers under any circumstances, but he does admit that it may be necessary when there is danger involved, when students simply do not understand the logic of the teacher's position, or when there is strong time pressure that does not allow for more leisurely problem solving. Even here, though, he recommends that teachers talk to students later and explain why power assertion was necessary, communicating that they were sorry to have to use it and offering to spend time planning with the students to avoid this problem in the future.

Gordon also notes that certain conflicts involve competing value systems, and that these can be persistent to the point that no mutually acceptable solutions are possible (e.g., dress code, drugs, personal grooming, language and manners, morality, patriotism, religion). "I" messages are not effective here because the teacher's logic does not make sense to the students. He notes that it is important to label value conflicts as value conflicts rather than as conflicts of personal needs. He still recommends self disclosure and "I" messages to show students where the teacher stands and open the door for possible discussion and behavior change, but that is all. He recommends dropping the matter if the first "I" message is heard but does not produce any positive response from students. Teacher persistence at this point would be seen as irritating preaching or nagging, and is pointless. However, if teachers avoid this and remain conspicuously available for honest discussions with students, the students may "hire them as consultants" (seek their advice or ask them to share their expertise, or experiences). This will give them an opportunity to express their beliefs more fully, although even here it should be a sharing of ideas and information and not a lecture. It must be left to the students to decide whether or not they agree or wish to change their own behavior accordingly.

Obviously, there are a great many similarities between the recommendations

of Glasser and of Gordon. Many of their ideas and recommended strategies are essentially identical, and most of the rest are complementary and mutually supportive. Glasser is probably more realistic, recognizing explicitly that power assertion sometimes will be necessary because of persistent student irresponsibility, not just time pressures, danger, or value conflicts. Gordon's ideas probably will go a long way toward minimizing these problems, but they will not eliminate them, and most teachers will have occasion to need the kinds of techniques that Glasser recommends. In fact, even his approach may assume too much; some students will resist making commitments because their misbehavior is too rewarding, and some will require something more than social encouragement, perhaps even punishment (Clarizio & McCoy, 1976).

Trends in classroom management ideology have followed, and probably have been caused by, earlier trends in thinking about children and child rearing. Early approaches featuring authoritarian regimentation and punitiveness reflected Victorian notions about children, who were seen as idle and undisciplined creatures who needed training, both mental and physical. Socialization was construed mostly as the curbing of unacceptable impulses through discipline and punishment, rather than as instruction in the more positive sense.

Predictably, the reaction to this extreme was movement toward the other extreme. Beginning in the 1930's and continuing through the 1960's, stress was placed on the intellectual capabilities of children and the need to foster their development through stimulation and encouragement and avoid stunting it through restrictiveness. Humanistic ideologies stressing individual freedom and creativity, self actualization and spontaneity thrived. As these movements began to affect the schools, the result was a drastic retrenchment of the degree to which school administrators and teachers even attempted to exercise

control over student behavior. This can be seen everywhere, not just in free schools or schools that have embraced the tenets of open education.

These events brought about excesses of their own, and we are now experiencing a backlash against them. Fortunately, though, this appears to be taking the form of a measured reaction and not an over-reaction, so that the gains associated with earlier changes seem likely to be retained and consolidated. The recommendations of Glasser and the other approaches reviewed in this section can be appreciated from this perspective. They stress respect for student individuality and tolerance for individual differences, willingness to try to understand and assist students with special needs or problems, reliance on instruction and persuasion rather than power assertion, and humanistic values generally. However, they also recognize that students have responsibilities along with their rights, and that they will have to suffer the consequences if they persist in failing to fulfill those responsibilities.

These approaches mesh nicely with the evolving role of the teacher as a professional with particular expertise and specific but limited responsibilities to students and their parents, and with certain rights as the instructional leaders and authority figures in the classroom. Contemporary teachers typically do not want to be moralistic and authoritarian like those of earlier generations, but neither do they want to put up with persistent student irresponsibility or teach in schools that are chaotic or dangerous.

VIII. Implications for Teacher Education

A comprehensive treatment of classroom management must include attention to relevant student characteristics and individual differences, preparation of the classroom as an effective learning environment, organization of instruction and support activities to maximize student engagement in productive tasks, development of a workable set of housekeeping procedures and conduct rules, techniques of group management during active instruction, techniques of motivating and shaping desired behavior, techniques of resolving conflict and dealing with students' personal adjustment problems, and orchestration of all of these elements into an internally consistent and effective system. Clearly, no single source or approach treats all these elements comprehensively.

Perhaps because of this, teacher education programs rarely treat classroom management comprehensively, either. Historically, teacher education programs have not provided, in a systematic manner, knowledge, methods, and practice to produce effective classroom management. Most teacher educators have chosen to incorporate one of the following four positions in their training programs:

1) No specific classroom management course work;

2) Exposure to many bits and pieces;

3) Exposure to one technique only; or

4) Exposure to a philosophical framework (typically humanistic).

There are several reasons why many teacher education programs do not provide specific instruction in classroom management. One, mentioned earlier, is that there is no theory of classroom management to guide instructors. Another is that to date classroom management draws its content from many disciplines (e.g., socialization theory, psychology, sociology).

The structures of universities and of colleges of education lend themselves to delegating responsibility for establishing instruction to each dis-

cipline. Usually, people responsible for establishing teacher education programs are not drawn from the disciplines but from the teacher education faculty. Generally, faculty interested in teacher education program development have their primary interest in methods of teaching a particular content area. Thus, the responsibility for establishing a systematic classroom management curriculum does not naturally fall within the college structure, even though this aspect of teaching is valued highly.

The extreme need for instruction in classroom management frequently is felt by both students and faculty. Typically, in an attempt to help preservice teachers, individual faculty members assume the responsibility to do something. The immediate results of these good intentions are variable, but one long-term effect is that the human and financial support necessary for developing a systematic classroom management curriculum are not provided.

For example, in the "expose to many bits and pieces" program, teacher educators select various classroom management approaches for exposure to students. Often, each idea is given one class period and is presented by either a prominent campus psychologist or a popular classroom teacher from the local schools.

Campus psychologists present a few principles which they hope will be found helpful sometime in the future by some of the pre-service teachers in the audience. Classroom teachers try to share practical examples of critical aspects of learning to manage a classroom, based on their experience. Given the "expose to bits and pieces" philosophy, preservice teachers are left with the task of choosing what fits them personally. Some teacher educators believe the preservice teacher actually will integrate the many notions into an effective system, and a few do. Usually, however, preservice teachers conclude either that no one knows what works, or that the

classroom teacher is telling it like it is and the professor really ought to get out into classrooms. The principles presented by professors are thus disregarded and the help they could offer preservice teachers is negated.

Graduates of the "single technique" or "humanistic philosophy" programs frequently enter their first job experiences believing that they have "the" answer concerning constructive classroom management. However, "single technique" graduates find that the technique is not helpful in many group situations and that it is even ineffective with many individuals. Graduates of the "philosophical" programs (who have not been taught specific techniques) find that they have positive ideas about how they want their students to behave and feel, and they know a lot of things not to do. However, they lack concrete examples of what to do to establish an effective classroom management system.

If teaching is considered purely an art that one must learn through experience, or if classroom management is considered an extremely complex and mysterious activity that cannot be taught systematically, there will be little change in the status quo. We believe that it can and should be taught effectively, however, and that there are enough commonalities and compatibilities across the diverse sources to provide the basis for developing an effective classroom management curriculum.

Based on our review of literature, it appears that, as a minimum, people who intend to manage classrooms effectively must possess identifiable personal attributes as well as specific knowledge and skills. We suggest that systematically integrated classroom management content-method-practice courses be developed as a part of the Foundations of Teaching sequence offered by colleges of education. Teacher educators interested in developing a comprehensive treatment of classroom management within a preservice teacher education program need to consider:

1. The selection and organization of a body of knowledge about humans, environments, and curriculum, the specific content to be selected on the basis of its relevance to effective classroom management;
2. The provision of opportunities to practice knowledge and related skills in controlled environments;
3. The provision of opportunities for reflecting on practice experiences as they relate to principles, and adjusting management behavior accordingly; and
4. The provision of an opportunity to be responsible for classroom instruction and management in a situation structured for a period of time sufficient for habituation of effective management techniques based on principles.

A classroom management curriculum will have to be divided into workable strands of objectives, beginning with relatively easy ones, like preparing the physical environment, and proceeding through more difficult ones, like reinforcing desired behavior and using problem-solving strategies to resolve conflicts. It may be necessary to begin with tutoring, microteaching, or small group situations and work gradually toward orchestration of various elements into a system to be put into practice when responsibility for a class is assumed. There will need to be opportunities for practicing and getting feedback about performance, perhaps using resources such as clinical supervision, structured observation, or videotape.

Just as children learning to count may need their fingers, and student teachers learning to plan lessons may initially have to write out each detail, student teachers learning techniques of classroom management may need to begin with practice of "overly" specific techniques. For example, the

"I" and "you" messages discussed by Gordon are explicable only with reference to his general principles of conflict resolution. Clearly, it is conformance with these general principles, and not the presence of the pronoun "I" and absence of the pronoun "you," that makes a teacher message appropriate or effective. However, when first learning to apply these general principles, many students will find it necessary to think and act in terms of "I" messages.

Similarly, novices may have to memorize Glasser's 10 steps and some of his suggested dialogue when learning to use his methods, may have to follow overly specific algorithms in learning to be specific when they praise or effective when they reinforce, or may have to use elaborate checklists in learning to prepare effective learning environments. This is only to be expected, and the implication seems to be that effective teacher education programs will include not only heavy behavioral (skill practice) emphasis in teaching classroom management, but also use of these devices or "crutches." In addition, instruction in related theoretical knowledge must be provided so that individuals can determine which of their management behaviors are appropriate and successful and why. These types of experiences will result in the preparation of a knowledgeable, thoughtful, and skillful classroom manager who avoids thoughtless trial and error as the major means of establishing management systems.

We will now turn our discussion to the selection of classroom management content, methods, practice, reflection, and teaching experiences, and their implications for teacher education.

Examples to illustrate some of our points will be drawn from the Towards Excellence in Elementary Education (EEE) Program at Michigan State University. This is a three-year teacher preparation program developed with a focus on the integration of content, methods, and practice.

EEE students participate in professional education coursework and related field experiences for three years. Each week a member of the EEE staff (clinic professor) works in the field with the EEE student for at least one hour.

The typical role of the university supervisor (observing student teachers one to five hours a term) has been enlarged through extensive development by the MSU-EEE staff and has been changed to the clinic professor role. Clinic professors get to know each EEE student well, observing each student 5 to 15 hours a term and spending many additional hours in private conferences with him/her. Within the EEE program, the clinic professor is seen as a critical link in helping EEE students transfer learned concepts and skills to the classroom setting. In addition, in the area of classroom management (and all other aspects of teaching) clinic professors document behaviors, provide continued field instruction, personal support, models, and evaluative feedback, all of which are consistent with program goals and objectives. One of the primary tasks for clinic professors is to plan cooperatively with EEE students, using documented assessment data, objectives, strategies, and evaluation procedures, for their growth in teaching. Numerous observation forms for documenting behavior have been developed cooperatively by content, methods, and field personnel. (The role and training of the clinic professor will be discussed in another paper.)

The EEE program staff has explored ways of developing and implementing a classroom management curriculum as a part of a systematic teacher preparation program. The EEE classroom management curriculum is one of the most comprehensive found in teacher education programs today.

Body of Knowledge for Classroom Management Curriculum

Our first consideration will be the selection of a body of knowledge. The information available on effective classroom management can be organized into five major categories:

1. Personal attributes/qualities and the personal demands of teaching;
2. Management of instruction;
3. Management of groups;
4. Management of individual behavior problems typically found in classrooms;
5. Management of individual behavior problems resulting from mainstreaming.

Personal attributes/qualities and personal demands of teaching. The personal characteristics necessary for teachers who will be effective classroom managers, discussed in section two of this paper, include a cheerful disposition, friendliness, emotional maturity, sincerity, and trustworthiness. These characteristics all describe good mental health and personal adjustment. In addition, qualities such as remaining calm in a crisis, responding through active listening without becoming authoritarian or defensive, and maintaining a no-lose problem-solving orientation describe the characteristic of "ego strength" which appears to be necessary if a person is going to be an effective classroom manager.

At this time, it is impossible to select students for teacher preparation programs based on these qualities because adequate techniques have not been developed. However, almost all teacher preparation programs provide enough supervised experiences over long enough periods of time that it is possible to systematically collect data on each preservice teacher for certification decisions. Some programs are currently using systematic

data collection as a basis for counseling preservice teachers into other careers. However, the procedure may involve nothing more than personal preferences on the part of the evaluators, unless effective instruction which is keyed to specific learning objectives is provided for evaluators.

It is possible at this time for interpersonal communication and problem-solving skills to be taught, practiced, and evaluated as a part of teacher preparation programs. The following examples are drawn from the EEE program.

The conceptual framework adopted by the EEE program for learning about personal values and interpersonal communication and problem-solving skills as related to the role of the teacher and the teaching situation is The Personal Demands of Teaching (Henderson, 1974a). Formal instruction, practice application, and evaluation occur during the first year of the three-year program. During the last two years, continued field evaluations of specific and integrated communication and problem-solving skills are systematically completed on a regular basis. Communication and problem-solving skill data then are used in conjunction with other documented behavior patterns and information about their consequences in counseling EEE participants. This might mean counseling them into other programs or careers, although usually it means designing special individual experiences within the EEE program. When it is determined that documented patterns of behavior are interfering with successful classroom performance, additional instruction and related field assignments are provided.

For example, EEE students who are nonassertive in managing their classrooms participate in assertiveness training courses. A course designed to relate specifically to classroom management is organized if enough students require the help. If not enough students require help, those who need it enroll in one of the many courses available in the local area. At

times it is found that an EFE student possesses an appropriate technique but uses it infrequently, or in some situations but not others. For example, a student might give children appropriate positive feedback or specific appreciative praise only in situations where s/he is responsible for 15 or fewer children. Consequently, as his/her teaching responsibilities increase, children will receive less support. In a situation like this, the clinic professor and EEE student together identify the technique and the specific situations appropriate for its use. Next, an objective would be written identifying the (1) terminal behavior (appropriately public or private, verbal or written, specific positive feedback or praise, given to individuals or groups), (2) relevant settings or conditions (when teaching groups larger than 15), and (3) criteria for successful improvement (seen three times in one afternoon by the supervisor during short, unscheduled drop-in observations). A strategy for helping the student to begin to use the appropriate behavior habitually and become independent of the supervisor and the evaluation precedures would also be planned.

Whatever types of supervision, conceptual frameworks, and related instructional experiences teacher educators select, they must provide opportunities for preservice teachers to gain both figurative and operative knowledge. For example, preservice teachers need to be able to name, define, and apply knowledge and skills on tests and in simulation settings, but in addition, they need to be able to use the same knowledge and skills in a thoughtful, appropriate, and consistent manner in actual classroom settings. This is necessary if the preservice teachers are to be independent and responsible for evaluating the effects of their communication (and other teaching behaviors) and determining whether changes are needed.

Management of instruction. One major aspect of preventive classroom management is thoughtful and thorough planning for instruction.

In teaching preservice teachers to plan for effective management of instruction, the EEE program has built upon two generic conceptual frameworks and one objectives-based management system (Duffy & Sherman 1977). One generic framework, The Task Demands of Teaching, is embodied in a document entitled Education 200: The Individual and the School (Henderson 1974b) and the second is a model for creating, maintaining, and restoring a classroom atmosphere conducive to learning (Henderson, 1969). The objectives-based management system is used in the area of reading (Duffy, Sherman, & Roehler, 1977).

The Task Demands of Teaching conceptual framework provides the preservice teacher with a view of teaching which includes a process model for instructional design (planning), as well as instruction. In the processes of planning and instruction, the preservice teacher systematically completes tasks which contribute to preventive classroom management.

The Task Demands of Teaching framework provides a means for preservice teachers to make sense of the numerous and complex tasks teachers perform. The classes of behavior that teachers engage in, regardless of subject matter, grade level, or age of child taught, include: (1) assessment -- the diagnostic phase of teaching which emphasizes the identification of learner needs and instructional possibilities; (2) goal setting-- the prescriptive phase of teaching which emphasizes the specification of goals and objectives to meet the learners' identified immediate and long-range out-of-school needs, as well as properly sequenced cognitive and affective needs; (3) strategies-- the treatment phase of teaching which emphasizes the identification of strategies that can be implemented for goal and objective attainment and subsequent need satisfaction; and (4) evaluation - the phase of teaching which focuses on examination of results (Henderson & Lanier, 1974b).

The model for creating, maintaining, and restoring provides a structure which helps the preservice teacher master and integrate effective classroom management principles. Each category has been organized to include indicators of principles of creating, maintaining, or restoring an effective learning environment (see figure).

Henderson (1969) describes creating techniques as "techniques teachers use to get the classroom functioning well. When the classroom is functioning well, there is no visible indication of disorder or potential disorder." The classroom teacher who uses these techniques is anticipating, on the basis of what is known about children, learning and school situations and what might be needed for control purposes. The skills needed to effectively use creating techniques include: "(1) thoughtful and sensitive planning, (2) knowledge of the typical social and academic behavior of students, and (3) knowledge of and ability to use creating techniques." Some of these techniques are: using successful attention-getting devices, establishing procedures for orderly pupil movement, having activities planned for unforeseen time and schedule problems, and explaining the rationale for rules. (see the observation form on the following page).

The category of creating includes items which relate to many of the preventive notions discussed earlier in this paper. For example, included in this category are preparation of instructional procedures, space, equipment and materials; assessing appropriateness of content for stage of intellectual development, achievement level, and interest; feedback; and explaining rationales for behavior.

The second category includes "maintaining" techniques. Henderson (1969) defines these as "techniques which are also used when the classroom is functioning well, but visible clues are present in the situation which

Examples of Items from

DATE _____ Observation Instrument

Management & Instructional Tasks

Lanier, Putnam & Barnes

DESCRIPTION OF CLASSROOM SITUATION:

COMMENTS

CREATING:

1. Prepares space, equipment, supplies, materials for instruction . . .
2. Efficiently distributes and collects materials . . . . . .
3. Provides for orderly pupil movement. . . . . .
4. Describes desired behavior and why . . . . . .
5. Describes attention getting devices for children and teachers. . . .
6. Describes purpose and rationale for the lesson (communicates objectives). . . . . .
7. Presents content that is challenging and pleasant to students -- (not too easy or not too difficult). . . . . .
8. Presents activities that are pleasant to students -- (not too easy or not too difficult, and interesting) (Experience, socialization) .

MAINTAINING:

1. Redirects with task involvement. . . . . .
2. Purposefully ignores minor inattention . . . . . .
3. Reduces frustration through task assistance. . . . . .
4. Uses non-verbal signal interference. . . . . .
5. Shifts instructional techniques, materials, etc. as part of lesson .
6. Provides constructive activity in face of unforeseen time problems .
7. Removes distractions . . . . . .
8. Uses proximity-relationship control. . . . . .
9. Reinforces-rewards desired behavior. . . . . .
10. Utilizes successful attention-getting devices. . . . . .

RESTORING:

1. Verbal desist techniques:
   a. calls name . . . . . .
   b. requests end of inappropriate behavior . . . . . .
   c. directs or suggests appropriate behavior . . . . . .
   d. gives rationale for behavior change. . . . . .
2. Sharpens boundaries for permissible behavior . . . . . .
3. Conditional promises, (If you do this, then. . .) . . . . . .
4. Threats, warning . . . . . .
5. Physical restraint . . . . . .
6. Punishment . . . . . .

Figure.

suggest that trouble will soon occur unless you act. The maintaining techniques, therefore, are meant to extinguish the signs of potential disorder before disruption occurs." When preservice teachers use these techniques, they are anticipating on the basis of what they are seeing as well as what they know about children, learning, and school situations, and what might be needed for control purposes. Henderson points out that keys to effective use of techniques of this type include: "(1) awareness of what potential problems look like,(2) skills in perception -- 'the eyes-in-the-back-of-the-head' type, and(3) knowledge of and an ability to use maintaining techniques."

The maintaining category includes items which require the preservice teacher to first observe student behavior cues and decide whether or not a teacher response is necessary. If a response is necessary, the preservice teacher then must decide what response is appropriate. Next the preservice teacher responds, prolonging the interaction enough to communicate interest and to evaluate whether the response was effective or whether another response is needed.

In effect, the "maintaining" category provides the preservice teacher with guidelines for learning "withitness" and "overlapping." Examples of maintaining techniques are redirecting pupil attention, reducing pupil frustration, and applying non-verbal desist techniques.

The function of "restoring" techniques is described by Henderson as "restoring order and/or efficiency once it has been lost." She states that, "No matter how competent and clever you are with creating and maintaining abilities, students are human beings and rules and regulations will be broken -- things will go wrong (especially if you allow your students any freedom at all)." The speed and ease with which preservice teachers return the room to orderliness, however, depend on their ability to use effective

and constructive restoring techniques. This usually requires;"(1) the ability to keep your 'cool', that is, adequate amounts of self-control and patience; (2) assertive (not aggressive) behavior; and(3) knowledge of and facility in the use of restoring acts." (Henderson, 1969) Examples of these techniques include relocation, deprivation of desired activities, verbal and non-verbal desist techniques, restructuring, and punishment.

The items in the restoring category acknowledge that even effective classroom managers have times when things fall apart. This category provides guidelines for getting disruptive behavior stopped quickly. Once the behavior is stopped, the teacher needs to re-establish a constructive environment. Thus, "creating," both with the group and with the offenders, is necessary at these times.

Extensive use of the creating, maintaining, and restoring framework by EEE preservice teachers in classroom settings indicates that the techniques not only help in solving classroom problems, but of greater importance, help the preservice teacher focus on preventive acts.

Use of the creating, maintaining, restoring field observation form helps in identifying the primary mode of management used by a preservice teacher. By having clinic professor, cooperating teacher, or another EEE student observe a preservice teacher's classroom instruction and tally management behavior, it is possible to analyze the data and determine which category needs attention. For example, a record which shows all management behavior in the creating and restoring categories indicates need for work on using maintaining techniques during instruction.

When a record based on two or three observations within a week or a week and a half indicates that an unwanted pattern is being established, the clinic professor and EEE student plan a program for bringing about a

change in teaching behavior. The first step in program planning would be to determine why the student is not performing the desired behavior. Depending on whether the lack of performance is tied to lack of knowledge (e.g., doesn't know alternative behaviors or related principles), lack of basic skill (e.g., isn't able to redirect student without scolding or nagging), or lack of prerequisite skill (e.g., scanning an entire classroom and processing observation is prerequisite to maintaining responses), the student and clinic professor identify what each person will do to help the student change.

For example, an EEE student who determines a need to increase maintaining behavior might get involved in strategies such as observing other teachers, reviewing written materials, and/or receiving assistance from the clinic professor. If the clinic professor is providing assistance, s/he might use a strategy such as coaching. For example, while the EEE student is teaching, the clinic professor would tell the student to look at certain children, to wait, to stop waiting, to scan the room, or to change activities. In addition to coaching, other field strategies are being developed and field tested by the EEE program clinic professors.

One area with which we have not dealt is objectives-based management systems and their implications for classroom management. One purpose, among many others, of objectives-based management systems is to provide instruction to all students which is adjusted to their individual needs and levels of progress. This requires small groups and one-on-one instruction, so that large numbers of children frequently must maintain on-task behavior without teacher help and supervision. The potential for disruptive student behavior here is evident. Duffy, et al. (1977) have identified principles for preparing independent activities, safety values, physical setting, buffers, and record-keeping that will facilitate management under these

circumstances.

As has been pointed out previously, the success of any model or technique can be determined only by the achievement of larger goals for children. Good appropriate management of instruction makes a major contribution to preventive classroom management generally. The urgency to develop a management curriculum might tempt us to select models for instructional management and incorporate them into preparation programs. However, simple or rote behavioral implementation of any model would probably have few long term effects on teachers or children. Continued development, documentation, and evaluation of preparation methods and affective and cognitive outcomes is needed if teacher educators are to have adequate data for use in making management curriculum decisions.

Management of groups. The notion of managing instruction needs to include the idea that it occurs in a situation which involves a group. Many elements of classroom management are traditionally classified as group management techniques (for example, providing individualized instruction while maintaining task orientation for the entire class, managing the transition of moving an entire class to the gym, or maintaining everyone's attention during a group discussion). Also, skills such as "withitness," "overlapping," and the other skills stressed by Kounin (1970) fall into this area, as do the skills stressed by Good and Brophy (1977, 1978). In addition, Glasser, Gordon, and others provide ideas worth considering for integration into the components of a classroom management curriculum which deal with management of groups.

A noteworthy recent addition to this area is Stanford's (1977) volume on developing effective classroom groups through group dynamics techniques. The principles of effective group development discussed in this book pro-

vide the preservice teacher with an organizational structure for learning (studying) about a class as a group. This conceptual framework, if integrated into a classroom management curriculum, should provide preservice teachers with a useful organizer for learning how to establish cooperative and effective groups.

Management of individual behavior problems typically found in classroom settings. Approaching behavior problems from a "restoring" (punishment or discipline) focus has limited value. When such a focus is taken with preservice teachers, they tend to become authoritarian-oriented. They focus on controlling after the fact rather than on prevention, problem solving, and student responsibility and growth.

The ideas of Gordon, Glasser, Good and Brophy, Krumboltz and Krumboltz, Driekurs, Redl, and others provide techniques which can be incorporated into a systematic problem-solving orientation. It is possible for teacher educators to develop preparation experiences which provide instruction from which preservice teachers gain a constructive outlook on helping children learn to be responsible for their behavior. This will not be a simple task.

The difficulty is not in the organization and administration necessary for adequate instruction and for practice experiences for preservice teachers. Instead, it lies in the unintended outcomes which may occur due to the interaction of certain teacher characteristics and the inherent characteristics of a given technique. Preservice teachers who are non-assertive will allow children to make decisions inappropriately and will not communicate their own needs. An aggressive preservice teacher will act

in hostile and punitive ways. Teachers who are insecure will predetermine the outcomes of classroom meetings or conflict resolution sessions and will manipulate to get their own way. In each of these examples, the result will be the antithesis of the intended outcomes of responsible and independent student behavior - and collaborative problem solving.

This problem presents a moral dilemma to teacher educators who are responsible for the development of a classroom management curriculum. The question which must be answered is: Does a preservice program have a responsibility to provide instruction or certification only to preservice teachers whose beliefs, values, and purposes are appropriate?

The dilemma is even more apparent when methods such as Glasser's 10-step approach to dealing with discipline problems are considered. Inherent within this approach are powerful assertive skills and the need to maintain attention to a student from initiation of a step to its conclusion. Taken out of the context of Glasser's philosophical assumptions, a simple extrapolated interpretation of the 10-step process could provide an authoritarian person with a means to become destructively powerful.

Social-emotional education is an area which teacher educators could find useful in the development of a classroom management curriculum. The concepts originally developed in the area of social emotional education by Henderson (1974a) and expanded and reported by Barnes and Samuelson (1977) as part of the MSU/ Lansing School District Tenth Cycle Teacher Corps project appear to have potential for developing individual student respect and responsibility behaviors.

The strategies developed by the Teacher Corps staff and classroom teachers were designed to: (1) build positive self concepts, (2) build

"feeling word" vocabularies and the constructive expression of emotion, (3) encourage the exhibition of helping behaviors and the expression of appreciative praise, and (4) facilitate the constructive expression of frustration/anger in the classroom. The program which was developed used the "natural classroom environment to teach children survival skills needed to function in society, including expression of one's emotions constructively, being responsible, making growth-producing choices, and coping with problems." (Barnes, et al., 1977). Teachers working in this project reported that they observed an increase in constructive behaviors and a reduction in behaviors which caused management problems for teachers. Thus, they prevented discipline problems in ways which allowed students to be responsible for their own behavior.

In terms of efficiency and effectiveness of a classroom management curriculum, it might prove to be worthwhile to include large amounts of program instruction in the area of social-emotional education and less in the area of handling discipline problems. Here again, it will be important for classroom management curriculum developers to provide documentation and evaluation data for use in curriculum revision decisions.

Management of behavior problems of students returning to classrooms due to mainstreaming. How can a preparation program help preservice teachers prepare for mainstreaming? This is an area which is of much concern to both teacher educators and preservice teachers, yet there is less information available about classroom management problems related to mainstreaming than any of the others we have discussed.

Most observers believe that teacher educators must consider the management problems anticipated by classroom teachers due to mainstreaming, when selecting content for a management curriculum. However, another point of view proposes that mainstreaming topics should be dealt with only when teachers have developed a "need to know" because they have a child returning to their room from a special program. There is no current literature on which to base curriculum development decisions in this area; we have included the topic here in order to call attention to it, and in order to be complete.

Summary. As can be seen from our brief discussion, the selection and sequencing of content for a systematic management curriculum will not be easy. However, it can and should be done. As teacher education programs integrate systematic management curricula into their course offerings, it will become important to evaluate the short-and long-term effects of the university instruction and related field opportunities on teachers and children.

As in numerous other areas of the teacher education curriculum, simulated practice without opportunities for application of classroom management knowledge and skills will not be sufficient. We will now turn attention to the types of practice and application experiences needed in a teacher preparation program dealing with classroom management.

Practice in a Controlled Environment

Ultimately, effective classroom management techniques are learned through actual practice. However, many of the needed behaviors (e.g., "withitness," no-lose conflict resolution) are complex techniques in themselves. Thus, one of the essential parts of a comprehensive classroom management curriculum within a preparation program must be opportunities for controlled practice of sets of complex management behaviors. These sets must be specific enough to be well defined as learning objectives, but not so molecular

that controlled practice of them results in isolated, nonadaptive behavior that does not cumulate in effective integration.

There are two types of controlled practice experience, each with a different purpose. The first makes use of experiences with adults, acting as adults. It is important for preservice teachers to experience the consequences of techniques (e.g., no-lose problem solving or active listening) from the perspective of both the participant and the teacher roles. Until they experience the value of various techniques to themselves, they are not likely to use them in the teaching situation. Also, lack of skill will interfere with application of the techniques in teaching situations. Thus, the purpose of the first controlled practice setting is to provide a positive personal experience upon which the preservice teacher can reflect about feelings as a participant and teacher. Secondly, this setting provides for practice of behaviors which may be new in themselves or at least applied in a new situation.

Early controlled practice experiences should not have correct application of technique as the primary objective. This is appropriate for later experiences. Instead, the preservice teacher should identify personal conflicts between beliefs about the role of the teacher and the purpose of the technique being studied. For example, preservice teachers who believe that it is the function of the teacher to determine rules for the classroom without student input will have problems implementing any collaborative problem solving techniques. While they may appear to go through the steps, they carry a hidden agenda which is communicated to the students. Because the children understand that solutions are, in fact, the teacher's, children may not cooperate in keeping agreements. Unless attention is called to beliefs and values, the preservice teacher may assume that the method is inadequate rather than recognize a conflict in personal values. Likewise,

as mentioned previously, it is possible to teach techniques (e.g., Glasser's 10 steps) which can be used inappropriately as a way to gain more teacher power rather than solve problems.

In this first type of controlled practice setting, it is possible for the teacher educator to develop simulated experiences based on the real classroom conflicts and problems of preservice teachers being instructed. This strategy incorporates the ideas of beginning instruction with something that is familiar to the learner, tying the new concepts and or skills to this personal knowledge.

The second type of controlled setting occurs in the schools and, at least initially, under the supervision of the teacher educator. In this setting, preservice teachers work with groups of 5 to 15 children (depending on previous experience). The groups may meet outside of the classroom or in an area where they will not be bothered within the classroom. When working with small numbers of children in these situations, preservice teachers have the experience of applying the techniques being studied while they are not responsible for all the variables teachers must deal with in a classroom. The short-term purposes of this experience are two. First, it provides the preservice teacher with an opportunity to try hands-on techniques with school children. Second, the preservice teacher has a current, concrete experience from which reflection and further study can proceed.

The longer range purpose is to help the preservice teacher identify the difference between acting (rotely going through steps) and interacting (processing children's responses to determine appropriate teacher action). Thus, in the second setting, it is important for the teacher educator to attend to the cognitive and affective <u>interactions</u> of student and teacher.

Processing of the experience then can focus on helping the preservice teacher identify the difference in consequences to children and themselves and differences in their teacher behavior when they were interacting versus rotely going through a technique.

The processing of controlled practice experiences is a critical factor in helping students use appropriate management techniques habitually. However, in these times of decreasing student credit hours and college budgets based on credit hour generation, it may be difficult to get enough supervision personnel to provide these experiences. Unfortunately, providing practice experiences without adequate supervision has proven to be worthless in the past.

Reflection

One danger in developing a comprehensive classroom management component within a preparation program is the tendency to try to cram everything into it. This can be worse than doing nothing. Anxiety levels will be raised nonproductively, and self-confidence may be reduced if the preservice teacher views effective classroom management as too complex to learn.

Therefore, it is important for the teacher educator to complete the tasks of: (1) analyzing the classroom management task,(2) synthesizing the best available literature, (3) developing instructional strategies,(4) identifying field experiences which will allow teachers to practice constructive management techniques, and(5) identifying human intervention field techniques which will help teachers gain expertise. While attending to those tasks, it must be kept in mind that significant long-term changes in behavior will not occur without appropriate time for reflection on experiences and habituation through practice.

The planning of appropriate amounts of time to allow for reflection will facilitate value and behavior awareness and, when finally appropriate,

behavior adjustment. Thus, a major task of the teacher educator will be to select and sequence critical chunks of materials which are most appropriately learned in university and school room settings and are critical to preventive classroom management.

It must be noted at this time that the roles of the clinic professor, advisor, supervisor, and/or cooperating teacher are additional factors critical to the success and growth of the preservice teacher. A discussion of these roles is beyond the scope of this paper, however.

Teaching Experience for Integration of Classroom Management Knowledge and Skills

Within a teacher preparation program, the teaching experiences provided for preservice teachers need to be structured in ways which allow for a continuous increase in classroom responsibility. In planning these experiences, two things must be kept in mind. One is that too much practice in controlled settings can be counterproductive, due to lack of opportunities to transfer knowledge and skills to the more complex classroom situation. The second is that, if put into a complex setting where it is necessary to "survive," most preservice teachers will. When placed in a setting which is too complex to handle effectively, their power to think about what an effective classroom manager does and then to behave accordingly is reduced to acting out a sterotyped teacher management role or rotely going through previously learned steps. Preservice teachers do develop a classroom management mode when placed in situations for which they are not prepared. However, the methods used to survive are typically based on how they experienced schooling, their habitual survival strategies, and the behavior of inservice teacher models, rather than on application of educational principles.

Once preservice teachers have been appropriately prepared and are ready to enter the final stages of preservice preparation, it is important that they teach in a situation where they take on as many classroom responsibilities as possible. Most preparation programs' culminating teaching experience, student teaching (unfortunately, sometimes the only classroom experience), occurs in the classroom of an inservice teacher. Frequently and unfortunately, the faculty who were responsible for the earlier program preparation are not involved in this culminating teaching experience. It is very difficult, then, to establish purposes and goals for the experience which are consistent with the previous preparation. In these situations, evaluation and supervision are either lacking or conducted by others who know little of the preservice teacher's previous preparation.

At other times, people responsible for supervision do have knowledge of the preparation program, but they also have a different set of beliefs about teacher preparation and, specifically, classroom management. At a time which is critical to the preservice teacher's growth and ability to act in a thoughtful manner, little or inappropriate help is provided. The net result is that preservice teachers keep "order" any way they can, to survive. During an experience like this, many preservice teachers honestly think that they will manage their own classrooms in the future as they were taught in their previous coursework. However, the legitimate time for thoughtful practice is lost, and many are never able to find the support necessary to change from a traditional, authoritarian model.

In addition to adequate amounts of real responsibility, the culminating classroom experience can provide a number of other supports to thoughtful practice of classroom management methods based on educational principles. The elements necessary include: (1) chances not to be saved when things aren't going well, (2) opportunities to reflect on student and teacher actions,

and to determine why things are or are not working, (3) resource people (cooperating teacher, principal, university supervisors) with whom to dialogue, (4) continuous opportunities to evaluate one's own practices and growth, and (5) opportunities to plan, instruct, evaluate, and conference with parents and children.

IX. Conclusion

We have discussed some of the many things which must be considered in the development of a comprehensive classroom management curriculum. There is reason to believe that thorough training of this kind will succeed in developing the important skills involved in classroom management. Still, it is worth noting once again that skills alone are not enough; success demands general mental health and, in particular, ego strength. Individuals who are hostile, sadistic, sarcastic, defensive, prone to taking student misbehavior personally and holding grudges, or so authoritarian that they cannot tolerate student assertiveness or individuality are not likely to form productive teacher-student relationships or to establish credibility and respect. They might succeed in obtaining grudging compliance through persistent application of technical skills, but at a cost in student attitudes toward them and everything associated with them.

These considerations imply that teacher preparation programs should include mechanisms to identify such individuals and keep them out of the classroom unless they improve their own personal adjustments. Individuals with seriously inappropriate attitudes or other neurotic problems may require general psychotherapy. Individuals whose problems in classroom management are confined mostly to their own inhibitions when acting as authority figures may only require enrollment in assertiveness training

programs (along with an emphasis on role play and practice in problem solving techniques).

In conclusion, even though we were disappointed with the limited body of empirical research on classroom management, our overall impression is optimistic. The research will be augmented by large studies presently in process and by systematic evaluations of some of the newer problem-solving techniques. More generally, the advice offered in various sources of theory and ideas about classroom management is mostly complementary or mutually reinforcing. There is wide agreement on matters taken up by different writers, especially on general ideas such as the importance of a positive and preventive approach. Most disagreements are confined to questions about the merits of very specific techniques. Therefore, it is possible to develop a systematic and internally consistent but yet comprehensive approach to classroom management by integrating material from diverse sources, thus providing a basis for curriculum and instruction in teacher education. We hope this paper has been a useful step toward this end.

References

Amsterdam, R. Constructive classroom discipline and practice. New York: Comet Press, 1957.

Anderson, L., Evertson, C., & Brophy, J. The first grade reading group study: Technical report of experimental effects and process-outcome relationships. Report No. 4070, Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, University of Texas at Austin, 1978.

Bandura, A. Principles of behavior modification. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969.

Barnes, H., & Samuelson, M. Social emotional education curriculum development. Final report, Tenth Cycle Teacher Corps, Lansing School District/Michigan State University, August, 1975-June, 1977.

Baumrind, D. Current patterns of parental authority. Developmental Psychology Monograph, 1971, 4 (1), part 2.

Blank, M. Teaching learning in the preschool: A dialogue approach. Columbus: Merrill, 1973.

Brophy, J. Child development and socialization. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1977.

Brophy, J. Classroom strategy study. In Institute for Research on Teaching fourth quarterly report of the first operational year (August 1 - December 31, 1977). East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1978.

Brophy J., & Evertson, C. Learning from teaching: A developmental perspective. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1976.

Brophy, J., & Good, T. Teacher-student relationships: Causes and consequences. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1974.

Brown, D. Changing student behavior: A new approach to discipline. Dubuque: William C. Brown, 1971.

Cartledge, G., & Milburn, L. The case for teaching social skills in the classroom: A review. Review of Educational Research, 1978, 48, 133-156.

Clarizio, H., & McCoy, G. Behavior disorders in children (2nd ed.). New York: Crowell, 1976.

Cobb, J., & Hops, H. Effects of academic survival skill training on low achieving first graders. Journal of Educational Research, 1973, 67, 108-113.

Deci, E. Intrinsic motivation. New York: Plenum, 1975.

DeFlaminis, J. Teacher responses to classroom misbehavior: Influence methods in a perilous equilibrium. Ann Arbor: University Microfilm International, 1975.

DeVries, D., & Slavin, R. Teams - games - tournaments: A final report on the research. Report No. 217, Center for Social Organization of Schools. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1976.

Dreikurs, R. Psychology in the classroom: A manual for teachers (2nd ed.). New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Duffy, G., & Sherman, G. Systematic reading instruction (2nd ed.). New York: Harper and Row, 1977

Eden, D. Intrinsic and extrinsic rewards and motives: Replication and extension with Kibbutz workers. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 1975, 5, 348-361.

Evertson, C., & Anderson, L. Interim progress report: The classroom organization study. Report No. 6002, Research and Development Center for Teacher Education, University of Texas at Austin, 1978.

Emery, R., & Marholin, D. An applied behavior analysis of delinquency: The irrelevancy of relevant behavior. American Psychologist, 1977, 32, 860-873.

Fisk, L., & Lindgren, H. A survival guide for teachers. New York: Wiley, 1973.

Fuller, F. Concerns of teachers. American Educational Research Journal, 1969, 6, 207-226.

Garza, G. Classroom management: Implications for supervision. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1977. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 141879.

Glasser, W. Schools without failure. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Glasser, W. Ten steps to good discipline. Today's Education, 1977, 66, 4, (November-December), 61-63.

Glynn, E., Thomas, J., & Shee, S. Behavioral self-control of on-task behavior in an elementary classroom. Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 1973, 6, 105-113.

Gnagey, W. The psychology of discipline in the classroom. New York: MacMillan, 1968.

Good, T., & Brophy, J. Educational psychology: A realistic approach. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1977.

Good, T., & Brophy, J. Looking in classrooms (2nd ed.). New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

Good, T., & Grouws, D. Process-product relationships in fourth grade mathematics classrooms. Final Report, Grant NEG-00-3-0123, National Institute of Education, 1975.

Gordon, T. T.E.T. Teacher effectiveness training. New York: David McKay, 1974.

Hargreaves, D., Hester, S., & Mellor, F. Deviance in classrooms. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Henderson, J. Creating, maintaining, and restoring order in the school. Unpublished paper, Michigan State University, 1969.

Henderson, J. Defining and developing the content and process of social-emotional education: Some first steps. Unpublished paper, Michigan State University, 1974 (a)

Henderson, J. An introduction to teaching: Unit I. In Education 200: The individual and the school. College of Education, Michigan State University, Spring and Summer, 1974. (b)

Jackson, P. Life in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Johnson, D. The social psychology of education. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970.

Johnson, D., & Johnson, R. Learning together and alone: Cooperation, competition and individualization. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975.

Kleinfeld, J. Effective teachers of Indian and Eskimo students. School Review, 1975, 83, 301-344.

Kounin, J. Discipline and group management in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Kounin, J., & Doyle, P. Degree of continuity of a lesson's signal system and the task involvement of children. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1975, 67, 159-164.

Kounin, J., & Gump, P. Signal systems of lesson settings and the task-related behavior of preschool children. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1974, 66, 554-562.

Kounin, J., & Obradovic, S. Managing emotionally disturbed children in regular classrooms: A replication and extention. Journal of Special Education, 1968, 2, 129-135.

Krumboltz, J., & Krumboltz, H. Changing children's behavior. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1972.

Lewin, K., Lippitt, R., & White, R. Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created "social climates." Journal of Social Psychology, 1939, 10, 271-299.

Maccoby, E., & Jacklin, C. The psychology of sex differences. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.

McDonald, F., & Elias, P. Executive summary report, Beginning Teacher Evaluation Study, phase II, 1973 - 74. Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1976.

McLaughlin, T. Self-control in the classroom. Review of Educational Research, 1976, 46, 631-663.

Meichenbaum, D. Cognitive - behavior modification. New York: Plenum, 1977.

Meichenbaum, D., & Goodman, J. Training impulsive children to talk to themselves. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 1971, 77, 115-126.

Morse, W. Worksheet on life space interviewing for teachers. In N. Long, W. Morse, & R. Newman (Eds.) Conflict in the classroom: The education of children with problems (2nd ed.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1971.

Nash, R. Classrooms observed: The teacher's perception and the pupil's performance. Boston: Routledge, 1973.

Nash, R. Pupils' expectations of their teachers. In M. Stubbs & S. Delamont (Eds.). Explorations in classroom observation. New York: Wiley, 1976.

O'Leary, K., Kaufman, K., Kass, R., & Drabman, R. The effects of loud and soft reprimands on the behavior of disruptive students. Exceptional Children, 1970, 27, 145-155.

O'Leary, K. & O'Leary S. (Eds.). Classroom management: The successful use of behavior modification (2nd ed.). New York: Pergamon, 1977.

O'Leary, K., Poulos, R., & Devine, V. Tangible reinforcers: Bonuses or bribes? Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1972, 38, 1-8.

Premack, D. Reinforcement theory. In D. Levine, (Ed.), Nebraska symposium on motivation (Vol. 13). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.

Redl, F. Strategy and techniques of the Life Space Interview. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1959, 29, 1-18.

Redl, F. When we deal with children. New York: Free Press, 1966.

Redl, F., & Wattenberg, W. Mental hygiene in teaching. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1959.

Riessman, F. The culturally deprived child. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

Roberts, J. Scene of the battle: Group behavior in urban classrooms. New York: Doubleday, 1970.

Robin, A., Schneider, M., & Dolnick, M. The turtle technique: An extended case study of self-control in the classroom. Psychology in the Schools, 1976, 13, 449-453.

Rosenshine, B., & Berliner, D. Academic engaged time. British Journal of Teacher Education, 1978, 4, 3-16.

Rosswork, F. Goalsetting: The effects on an academic task with varying magnitudes of incentive. The Journal of Educational Psychology, 1977, 69, 710-715.

Rutter, M. Helping troubled children. New York: Plenum, 1975.

Safer, D., & Allen, R. Hyperactive children: Diagnosis and management. Baltimore: University Park Press, 1976.

Shipman, M. The sociology of the school. London: Longmans Green, 1968.

Spaulding, R. Control of deviancy in the classroom as a consequence of ego-enhancing behavior management techniques. Journal of Research and Development in Education, in press.

Stanford, G. Developing effective classroom groups: A practical guide for teachers. New York: Hart, 1977.

Tanner, L. Classroom discipline for effective teaching and learning. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1978.

Thompson, M., Brassell, W., Persons, S., Tucker, R., & Rollins, H. Contingency management in the schools: How often and how well does it work? American Educational Research Journal, 1974, 11, 19-28.

Ware, B. What rewards do students want? Phi Delta Kappan, 1978, 59, 355-356.

Weiss, M., & Weiss, P. Taking another look at teaching: How lower-class children influence middle-class teachers. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1975. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 137223.